

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SAINT PAUL

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis has a two-fold purpose. First, it is an attempt to fill a great need since there has not appeared in over a century a book devoted solely to the chronology of St. Paul. Secondly, it seeks to evaluate the theories of modern scholars in so far as they claim to offer a reconstruction of the accepted chronology. This writer maintains that a decision must first be made concerning the value of the sources and concludes that Luke is a reliable historian so that in any reconstruction of Pauline chronology both the Epistles and Acts must be regarded as basically trustworthy documents. The proposal made in America by John Knox that Paul's Epistles alone provide the only reliable source for his chronology is therefore rejected. The terminus a quo for Pauline chronology is the date of the Crucifixion, which this writer places in A.D. 33. The argument for this relatively late date is based on the evidence of the Johannine chronology and astronomical calculations. Considerable space is devoted to the study of the chronological notices found in the Epistles and Acts. The problem of the identification of the visits to Jerusalem in Galatians and Acts is decided in favour of Galatians 2: 1-10 being identified with Acts 11: 30 and 12: 25. A consideration of the chronological order of the Epistles is made in the light of ancient and modern theories and the following order proposed: Galatians, I & II Thessalonians, II Corinthians 6: 14-7: 1, I Corinthians, II Corinthians 10-13, II Corinthians 1-9, Romans, Philippians, Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians (if Pauline). The Pastoral Epistles are believed to contain genuine Pauline fragments but were composed by an ardent Paulinist long after the apostle's death. Paul's missionary journeys are concluded to have begun in the spring of A.D. 47 and to have ended in the spring of A.D. 57. The voyage to Rome occupies the latter part of A.D. 59 and the early part of A.D. 60. The year A.D. 62 is fixed as the terminus ad quem for Paul's chronology. No attempt is made to go beyond the evidence provided in the sources. Five maps and seventeen tables are inserted where relevant. The conclusions of the research are summarized in a chronological table. A chart is also included which gives the chronological schemes of scholars both past and present.

PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. First, it is an attempt to fill a great need. Since the publication of Wieseler's Chronologie die apostolischen Zeitalters in 1848, only two books have appeared which were devoted entirely to this subject: Hoennicke's Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus was published in 1903 and therefore too early to take into account the contributions of recent scholarship and archaeological discovery; and Plooijs's Die Chronologie van het leven van Paulus (The Chronology of the Life of Paul) appeared in 1918. The latter is the best book on the subject but unfortunately it is written in Dutch, has never been translated into English and as it has never been reprinted is becoming very rare. It may come as a matter of surprise then to realise that there has not appeared in over a century a book in English devoted solely to the chronology of Paul.

Secondly, this thesis seeks to answer the questions raised by the work of modern scholars in connection with the Pauline chronology. Ever since C. H. Turner published his monumental article on the "Chronology of the New Testament" at the close of the last century, many scholars have regarded the question of Pauline chronology as virtually closed. The subject had been treated with an exhaustiveness which left little more to be said. Recently, however, a number of significant contributions have been made, particularly in the work of John Knox of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the calculations of Fotheringham and Ogg in Britain

and Jaubert and Girard in France, which have reopened the whole question. George Ogg's article in the new edition of Peake's Commentary (1962) and George Caird's article in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (1962) are the most recent contributions to this subject and will replace C. H. Turner's calculations. It is the purpose of this thesis to evaluate these new theories in the light of the older chronological schemes, which is something which has not hitherto been done.

Since the purpose of this thesis is primarily to evaluate modern theories, in so far as they make a claim for a reconstruction of Pauline chronology, no attempt will be made to give an exhaustive account of work done in the past. For further information the reader is referred to the Bibliography. A Chronological Chart is attached which gives the dates proposed by some of the notable scholars before the year 1900 as well as those of more recent investigators.

In any attempt to answer the problems raised in constructing a chronology of Paul, a decision must first be made concerning the value of the sources. In Part One an examination is made of the principle of criticism upon which John Knox based his chronology. In Part Two attention is given to the dating of the Crucifixion which provides the terminus a quo for the chronology of Paul. In Part Three an investigation is made of the chronological notices which are found in the Epistles. In Part Four a similar study is made of the time of events supplied by Acts. Part Five deals with the problem of the Visits to Jerusalem in Galatians and Acts. In Part Six an attempt is made to reconstruct the dating of the Epistles in the light of recent theories. Part Seven is a study of the Missionary Journeys in so far as they relate to Paul's chronology. Chronology is a specialised field of study dealing with the science of

time and is not to be confused with biography. In the conclusions reached in this thesis, an attempt has been made not to go beyond the evidence to be found in the sources nor to make deductions based purely on assumptions.

My debt to scholars past and present will at once be clear. Like all students of Pauline chronology I am greatly indebted to the work of C. H. Turner. I owe much to the book by D. Plooij which I consider to be the outstanding contribution to the subject. J. Finegan's Handbook of Biblical Chronology (1964) has also proved to be a very useful guide. My thanks must also be expressed to the Rev. Dr. George Ogg whose interest in my research has been a source of encouragement to me. I am grateful to Dr. G. B. Caird, now tutor at Mansfield College, Oxford, who first suggested Pauline chronology to me as a subject of research. Finally, my thanks are also due to my two supervisors - the late Rev. Prof. William Manson and the Rev. Robert A. S. Barbour, both of New College, Edinburgh - who made many helpful suggestions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

iv

PART ONE

CONCERNING THE PROBLEM

Chapter	I	INTRODUCTION	2
	II	CONCERNING THE SOURCES	6
	III	THE VALUE OF THE SOURCES	17
	IV	KNOX'S THEORY	69

PART TWO

THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

V	THE CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICE IN LUKE 3:1-2	97
VI	THE SOURCES FOR CALCULATING THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION	110
VII	THE EVIDENCE OF ASTRONOMY	122

PART THREE

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES IN THE EPISTLES

VIII	THE THREE YEARS OF GALATIANS 1:18	133
IX	THE REFERENCE TO ARETAS	138
X	THE FOURTEEN YEARS OF GALATIANS 2:1	143

PART FOUR

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES IN THE ACTS

Chapter	XI	THE REIGN AND DEATH OF HEROD AGRIPPA I	152
	XII	THE FAMINE UNDER CLAUDIUS	161
	XIII	THE EDICT OF CLAUDIUS BANISHING THE JEWS FROM ROME	167
	XIV	THE PROCONSULSHIP OF SERGIUS PAULUS	172
	XV	THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO IN ACHAIA	179
	XVI	THE DATE OF PAUL'S ARRIVAL IN JERUSALEM	194
	XVII	THE PROCURATORSHIP OF FELIX	204

PART FIVE

THE PROBLEM OF THE VISITS TO JERUSALEM

XVIII	VARIOUS THEORIES FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE VISITS IN GALATIANS AND ACTS	213
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PART SIX

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPISTLES

XIX	EARLY ATTEMPTS AT A CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EPISTLES	246
XX	THE DATE OF GALATIANS	257
XXI	WHEN AND WHERE WERE THE EPISTLES WRITTEN?	265
XXII	THE EVALUATION OF RECENT THEORIES	277

PART SEVEN

THE CHRONOLOGY OF
PAUL'S JOURNEYS

Chapter XXIII	THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY	300
XXIV	THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY	309
XXV	THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY	318
XXVI	THE JOURNEY TO ROME	328
	SUMMARY	335
	HARMONY OF PAULINE CHRONOLOGY	339
	 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 341
	MAP	365
	PLATE 1	366
	CHRONOLOGICAL CHART	

PART ONE

CONCERNING THE PROBLEM

CHAPTERS I - IV

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Synopsis

Significant Developments

- (1) The Gallio Inscription.
- (2) P. N. Harrison's, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles.
- (3) The abandonment of Lightfoot's identification of Gal. 2:1-10 & Acts 15.
- (4) John Knox's theory of Pauline Chronology.
- (5) The Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.
- (6) The calculation of astronomical tables for new-moon dates and other "feasts".

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significant Developments

"On the subject of the Chronology of St. Paul's life originality is out of the question. Unless new documents are discovered to throw fresh light upon the period, little or nothing can be added to our present stock of knowledge. Recent writers have treated the matter with a fulness which may be considered exhaustive, and it only remains for those who are later in the field to repeat and to sift the results at which their predecessors have already arrived."¹ This was the opinion of no less an authority than J. B. Lightfoot less than a century ago. But since those words were written five significant developments have occurred which have both confirmed Lightfoot's predictions and at the same time rendered his chronological conclusions out of date. The first is the discovery of the Gallio inscription which provides us with a relatively fixed date in Paul's career. The significance of this discovery² has been stated by Adolf Deissmann in the Appendix to his book on Paul.

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, Biblical Essays, London, MacMillan & Co., 1893, p. 215.

² A. Deissmann, Paul, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1926, pp. 261-286. The first to realize its importance in connection with Pauline chronology was H. Dessau, Prosopographia imperii romani, Berlin: 1897 (see D. Plooi, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 27).

The second factor of major importance is the work done by P. N. Harrison on the Pastoral Epistles,¹ which although published over forty years ago has gained steadily in acceptance over the years and remains today unshaken both in the opinion of its author² and in that of leading New Testament scholars. The third development is the reconsideration of Lightfoot's identification of the Conference of Galatians 2:1-10 and Acts 15. The fourth, and most significant from the point of view of this thesis, is the theory put forward by the American scholar John Knox. This theory admits that Luke (whom we assume to be the author of Acts) had some excellent primitive sources which he used carefully, but concludes that our only reliable source for the Apostle's life is Paul's own letters. This hypothesis, which has been published recently,³ has reopened the whole question of Pauline chronology and revived the interest in this department of New Testament study. In the United States of America the arguments of Knox are well known, but here in Great Britain they are not so well known, and where they are known they have not been to any extent regarded as proved. The same applies, in greater

¹ P. N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, Oxford, University Press, 1921.

² P. N. Harrison, "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered: The Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles", The Expository Times, LXVII (1955), pp. 77-81; Paulines and Pastorals, London: Villiers Publications, 1964.

³ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1954. The conclusions reached in this book were originally published in two articles in The Journal of Religion, XVI, (1936), pp. 341-349, and The Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), pp. 15-29.

degree, to the continent of Europe.¹ It is time that someone investigated this theory of John Knox, not with the purpose of refuting it, but to give it as fair an examination as possible. In doing this all preconceived notions must be abandoned. It is the aim of this thesis to approach the subject without any axe to grind and, after presenting the evidence for both the older and newer theories, to reach a satisfactory conclusion. The fifth, and most exciting development, was anticipated by Lightfoot when he said, "Unless new documents are discovered to throw fresh light upon the period little or nothing can be added to our present stock of knowledge." The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and the light which they have thrown on Christian origins has some bearing on Pauline chronology particularly in the dating of the Crucifixion. The sixth is the preparation of astronomical tables for new-moon dates which enable us to date the Jewish feasts with a high degree of accuracy.²

¹ e.g. The recent French commentary by P. Bonnard on Galatians (1952) shows no awareness of Knox's articles published in 1936 and 1939. (Knox's book did not appear until 1954). E. Haenchen's commentary on Acts (1959) takes into account Knox's thesis.

² J. K. Fotheringham, "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the Date of the Crucifixion", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, (1934), pp. 158-160; A. Parker & W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75, Providence: Brown University Press, 1956.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING THE SOURCES

Synopsis

Chronology of Jesus appears more difficult.

Evidence of the Epistles.

Evidence of the Acts.

Difficulties involved in the use of the sources.

External evidence.

Five relatively fixed dates in Paul's chronology.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING THE SOURCES

Chronology of Jesus Appears More Difficult

Saint Paul, as every schoolboy knows, made three great missionary journeys and a journey to Rome. On the face of this evidence it would appear that the student writing on the chronology of Paul would find himself at a decided advantage over one working on a chronology of Jesus. Jesus left no written documents at all. What records we do possess were written many years after the earthly ministry had closed and not one is from an apostle's hand. Of these four documents we do not possess a single "autograph". There is the further difficulty of trying to distinguish between the actual words of Jesus and the mind of the Early Church. When it comes to harmonizing the four accounts of Jesus' ministry the difficulties are enormous. George Ogg, who has attempted to answer the question of the chronology of Jesus, has stated concerning his sources that nowhere do the four Evangelists provide him with an answer to his problem.¹ The student working on the chronology of Paul, on the other hand, has two admirable sources in the Apostle's own Epistles and the evidence in Acts. With only two sources to harmonize instead of four, and both first-hand accounts (at least in part) the student of the chronology of Paul may think his task a much simpler one.

¹ G. Ogg, The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus, Cambridge, University Press, 1940, p. 3.

Evidence of the Epistles

We have first the authentic letters of the Apostle Paul. These collected letters represent no less than one quarter¹ of the writings in the New Testament: the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. The Epistle to the Ephesians is recognized by many scholars in Europe and America as having been written after Paul's death, though its ideas faithfully represent the thoughts of the Apostle. In Great Britain, however, the question still remains open.² The second Epistle to the Corinthians exists in a somewhat jumbled state but attempts have been made to sort it out chronologically³ and its genuine Pauline character is without question. Sometime later a disciple of Paul composed what we know as the Pastoral Epistles, that is, the first and second Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. P. N. Harrison in his very able study of these Epistles has clearly demonstrated that they are not of Pauline

¹ C. L. Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, London: Epworth Press, 1955, p. 11.

² For a recent discussion of the arguments for and against Pauline authorship see C. L. Mitton, "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered: VII. The Authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians", The Expository Times, LXVII, (1956), pp. 195-198; J. N. Sanders, "The Case for the Pauline Authorship", D. E. Nineham, "The Case Against the Pauline Authorship", Studies in Ephesians (edited by F. L. Cross) London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1956, pp. 9-35.

³ See R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. (Moffatt Commentary), Hodder & Stoughton, 1935; G. Bornkamm, "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians", New Testament Studies, VIII, (1962), pp. 258-264; C. S. C. Williams, "II Corinthians", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, (1962), pp. 966-972.

authorship though they do contain genuine Pauline fragments.¹ This Pauline corpus, with the exception of those letters designated, has come down to us substantially as it left the author's hand.

Evidence of Acts

Along with this splendid body of primary sources we have what may be the historical record of Paul's personal physician and travelling companion Luke.² In the second volume of his *Story of Christianity* (assuming at this point that Luke is the author) Luke maintains the practice of setting his narrative in the framework of secular history, which from the standpoint of chronology is a most valuable asset.³ In the second part of Acts (chapters 16-28) where Luke is closely associated with Paul in the events which he records (presumably using his own diary as a source)⁴ references to times of events abound. For example: "...we

¹ P. N. Harrison, op. cit.

² For a discussion of the question of the authorship of Acts see pp. 36ff. In Colossians 4:14 Luke is referred to as "the beloved physician" (ὁ ἰατρός ὁ ἀγαπητός). It is precarious to argue on the grounds of his use of medical language alone that Luke was a doctor. It has been shown that he uses medical terms found in Hippocrates and other writers but this only proves Luke's acquaintance with the medical terminology which had passed into the general vernacular of his time. However, it is safe to conclude in the light of Paul's reference and Luke's most striking usages, that the author of Acts was a doctor. Cf. H. J. Cadbury, Style and Literary Method of Luke (1920); W. K. Hobart, The Medical Language of St. Luke, (1882); A. von Harnack, Lukas der Arzt (1906), trans. by J. R. Wilkinson, Luke the Physician (1907); J. Dupont, The Sources of Acts (1964), pp. 85-87.

³ See M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, (trans. by M. Ling), London: S.C.M. Press, 1956; E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959; H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke (trans. by G. Buswell), London: Faber & Faber, 1960; C. K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, London: Epworth Press, 1961.

⁴ The "we" passages are found in Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16.

sailed away from Philippi after the days of Unleavened Bread, and in five days we came to them at Troas, where we stayed for seven days.... And when he met us at Assos, we took him on board and came to Mitylene. And sailing from there we came the following day opposite Chios; the next day we touched at Samos; and the day after that we came to Miletus," (Acts 20:6-16). The accurate references to time during the voyage to Rome (Acts 27:2ff.) make it possible to work out the chronology of the voyage fairly accurately. This is the kind of information we would expect to find if Luke is using a Travel Diary as a source but in other parts of his narrative too he gives us many references to time; e.g. "Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews. And Paul went in, as was his custom, and for three weeks (or Sabbaths) he argued with them from the scriptures...." (Acts 17:1-3) "After this he left Athens and went to Corinth...and he stayed a year and six months...." (Acts 18:1-11) "Paul... came to Ephesus. And he entered into the synagogue and for three months spoke boldly, arguing and pleading about the Kingdom of God; but when some were stubborn and disbelieved, speaking evil of the Way before the congregation, he withdrew from them, taking the disciples with him, and argued daily in the hall of Tyrannus. This continued for two years...." (Acts 19:1-10) "...he came to Greece. There he spent three months." (Acts 20:2-3) "For the space of two whole years, Paul remained there" (in Rome). (Acts 28:30)

To all appearances then, the student working on the chronology of Paul should find himself in a more advantageous position than the student attempting the chronology of Jesus. Such, however, does not prove to be

the case.

Difficulties Involved in the Use of Our Sources

When we look at the question of Pauline chronology a little more closely we soon discover many serious difficulties. While the public ministry of Jesus extended at the most over a period of three years, that of Paul extended over a span of thirty years. Moreover, the collected letters of the Apostle Paul which occupy such a pre-eminent place in the pages of the New Testament contain only a few verses which are of any real significance from the point of view of chronology. And when we examine them closely we discover that not all Paul's statements can be taken prima facie. What, for example are we to make of Paul's statement that he planned to leave Ephesus at the feast of Pentecost? (I Cor. 16:8) No doubt he intended to do so but his plans were interrupted by a series of events. He had to make a hurried visit to Corinth. (II Cor. 13:1) This was followed by some mysterious trouble during which Paul was in imminent danger of death. (II Cor. 1:8) What at first sight appeared to be a useful piece of evidence turns out to be of little value. Or again, take the hints thrown out in Galatians. "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem.... Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem." Are the three years to be included in the fourteen? Or consider the Galatian mission itself. At what point in the Pauline chronology are we to place it? To what group of Christians in Galatia is the letter addressed? When was it written? Paul says in I Cor. 15:32: "What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus?" Was he actually thrown into the arena with wild beasts? Then there is the difficulty raised by the account of Paul's sufferings in II Cor. 11:23-32.

"Five times received I from the Jews the thirty-nine stripes"--Acts records not a single instance; "Thrice was I beaten with rods"--Acts mentions one beating at Philippi (Acts 16:22); "in prisons more abundantly"--Acts up to this time records only one imprisonment along with Silas for one night at Philippi (Acts 16:19ff.); Four of Paul's epistles appear to have been written from prison (Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians and Philemon). But when were they written, and from what prison? And how are we going to reckon the years? According to the Greek, Jewish or Roman customs? "Three times was I shipwrecked; a night and a day I was adrift at sea"--again Acts up to this point has nothing to say about this.¹ Paul looked forward to a mission in Spain, the oldest Roman province in the West, after his long desire to see Rome. (Rom. 15:24, 28) Did he ever realize this ambition?

Nor is the evidence of Acts unequivocal. The absence of chronological notices in the first part of Acts (chapters 1-15) is most frustrating.² What was Paul doing after his first visit to Jerusalem when he went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia? (Gal. 1:21, Acts 9:30) We simply do not know and scholars are well aware that no certain conclusions can be made concerning these hidden years of the Apostle's life. Probably it was during this period that he endured some of the trials

¹ L. Davies, St. Paul's Voyage to Rome (A Critical Enquiry) London: Headley Brothers, 1931, presents the thesis that Acts 27:1-8 contains the account of two voyages, not of one, as usually accepted. If Davies' thesis is correct then Acts 27:2-8 may be the account of a voyage which belongs to Paul's earlier missionary activities when he possibly experienced some of the things recorded in II Cor. 11:25-26.

² E. Haenchen says that only a few statements in Acts have any chronological significance and chapters 1-8 make no contribution to chronology. Die Apostelgeschichte, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959, p. 53.

which he mentions in II Cor. 11:23ff. Our sources simply lose sight of Paul for a number of years.

In the past scholars have usually looked upon Acts as Paul's biography and regarded the Epistles as a source from which to glean material which could be conveniently inserted into the framework of Acts. Recently this assumption has been vigorously attacked by a number of American scholars.¹ Furthermore, can we assume that the author of Acts was Luke the physician and did he accompany Paul on many of his journeys as has often been supposed?²

The two sources which at first appeared to be easier to harmonize than the four Gospels do in fact prove to be a baffling puzzle. The evidence of the Epistles and that of Acts conflicts at many points and we do not have the advantage, as does the writer of the Chronology of Jesus, of having other sources to serve as a helpful control. One of the most surprising things is that there is nothing in Acts to suggest that Paul ever wrote any letters at all. Many theories have been proposed, as we shall see later, but most of them adopt the expedient of largely ignoring the evidence of one or other of our sources.

¹ J. Knox, "Fourteen Years Later: A Note on the Pauline Chronology", Journal of Religion, XVI, (1936), pp. 341-49; "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), pp. 15-29; Chapters in a Life of Paul, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1954. P. S. Minear, "The Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology", Anglican Theological Review, XXV, (1943), pp. 389-96; S. Sandmel, The Genius of Paul, New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1958. A. P. Davies, The First Christian: A Study of St. Paul and Christian Origins, New York: The New American Library, 1959; M. J. Suggs, "Concerning the Date of Paul's Macedonian Ministry", Novum Testamentum, IV, (1960), pp. 60-68.

² Cf. E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 103: "Das Paulusbild, aber auch das gesamte Bild der Missionslage in der Apg zeigt, dass hier kein Mitarbeiter des Paulus zu Wort kommt."

External Evidence

What help can we expect to get from the evidence of secular history? As far as Paul's Epistles are concerned not one single event, with the possible exception of the crucifixion,¹ can be reckoned from sources outside the New Testament. Luke-Acts is more promising. As we have previously noted, Luke maintains the practice of setting his narrative in the framework of secular history. This provides us with a tentative framework from which to construct a chronology of Paul.

There are several sources which refer to secular history and provide a check for Luke's narrative. C. H. Turner² was of the opinion that only one event in secular history provided an indisputable contact with Acts, i.e. the death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1-4, 19-23). This can be deduced from the writings of Josephus,³ but it must be remembered that Turner's deductions were made before the publication of the discovery of the inscription at Delphi,⁴ and are invalidated by it. Confirmation of Luke's narrative is provided by the following sources: (1) The writings of the Jewish historian Josephus, who was contemporary with Luke, provide

¹ G. B. Caird, The Apostolic Age, London, Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1955, p. 198. Dr. Caird disregards the evidence of the Damascene coins which enable us to determine the relative date of Paul's escape from Damascus (II Cor. 11:32ff.), because he calculates Paul's first visit to Jerusalem as taking place after the reign of Tiberius. Cf. H. J. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1955, p. 20ff.

² C. H. Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, (1900), p. 403.

³ Josephus, Antiquities, XIX, viii.

⁴ See Part IV.

us with a valuable source. His works include the Bellum Judaicum (Jewish War) which was written before A.D. 79 and the Antiquities, a long work which was completed around A.D. 93-94.¹ The Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius also provide us with information. Tacitus published his Annals around A.D. 115. They give us a picture of the Roman Empire from the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) to the death of Nero (A.D. 68). Suetonius wrote his Lives of the Caesars (from Julius to Domitian) during the reign of Hadrian, probably around A.D. 120. (2) The evidence of Jewish and Roman coinage is a further means of determining the dates of officials. (3) The discovery of inscriptions on statues and monuments of which the Delphi inscription is the most notable example. (4) The Imperial chronology which may be listed as follows:

Augustus died on August 19th	A.D. 14
Tiberius died on March 16th	A.D. 37
Gaius Caligula died on January 24th	A.D. 41
Claudius died on October 13th	A.D. 54
Nero died on June 9th	A.D. 68

These sources enable us to determine relatively fixed dates for the following five events:

- (i) The death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:23)
- (ii) The famine in the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:28)
- (iii) The edict of Claudius against the Jews (Acts 18:2)
- (iv) The proconsulship of Gallio (Acts 18:12)
- (v) The procuratorship of Festus (Acts 24:27)

all of which occurred in the period of Paul's missionary career.

¹ The terms A.D. & B.C. were invented by the Abbot Dionysius Exiguus in A.D. 525. See J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, p. 132. The term A.U.C. which is found in many chronological tables is an abbreviation of anno urbis conditae ("in the year of the founded city") i.e. Rome. As to the date of the founding of the city opinions vary. See J. Finegan, op.cit., pp. 115ff.

It may appear from this abundance of chronological material that our task should be relatively simple. But when we investigate the problem more fully we discover that this does not prove to be the case. Our task will be to see if any of these relatively fixed dates in Pauline chronology can be brought nearer to the absolute chronology.

CHAPTER III

THE VALUE OF THE SOURCES

Synopsis

Knox's Principle of Criticism.

How did the corpus Paulinum come into being?

The value of Acts as a source.

Did Luke know Paul's Epistles?

The Greek text of Acts.

Some significant variants.

The date of Luke-Acts.

- (1) Early dating - A.D. 60-64.
- (2) Middle dating - A.D. 80-95.
- (3) Late dating - A.D. 100-150.

The authorship of Luke-Acts.

- (1) External evidence.
- (2) Internal evidence.

Luke-Acts by the same author.

Luke as historian.

- (i) Quellenkritik.
- (ii) Tendenzkritik.
- (iii) Formgeschichte.
- (iv) Redaktionsgeschichte.

M. Dibelius.

B. Gärtner.

A. Ehrhardt.

H. Conzelmann.

E. Haenchen.

E. Trocmé.

Analysis of Luke's purpose.

Evaluation of Luke as historian.

Was he an historian in the modern sense?

How did he treat his sources?

Summary.

CHAPTER III

THE VALUE OF THE SOURCES

Knox's Principle of Criticism

The main theory of John Knox is based on a principle of criticism, i.e., that "of our two sources the letters of Paul are obviously and incomparably the more trustworthy"¹ and therefore "they constitute our only primary source for the life of Paul".² If we accept this premise then it follows--provided his argument is sound--that we must also accept Knox's conclusions. Knox's principle of criticism raises the question of Luke's reliability as an historian (assuming that he is the author of Acts): this must therefore be investigated, or rather a survey must be made to justify the general position that Luke is a reliable historian (judged by the canons of ancient historiography, and to some extent of modern historiography also), if we are to trust his evidence on things like the visits to Jerusalem.

In discussing this question we must be careful to guard against forming a premature judgment. The whole argument of Knox turns on the

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 31.

² Ibid., p. 21.

supposition that the collected letters of Paul constitute a better source for chronology than the account presumably written by Luke his friend and travelling companion.¹ This point is crucial. Knox begins by stating that - "Acts makes little, if any, use of the letters as a source."² He believes, as does E. J. Goodspeed,³ that Paul's letters fell into complete neglect after they had served the purpose for which they were written. It was only years later when Paul's name was in danger of being forgotten that a disciple of the Apostle⁴ collected those letters which had not been destroyed and published them. This raises the question: By what process did the corpus Paulinum come into being? We discuss this question here because it has a bearing on the larger question of the dating of Acts (pp. 28-35).

How Did the Corpus Paulinum Come into Being?

In Great Britain it is generally held that Paul's letters were finally brought together only after a gradual process of development. We have previously noted that this theory has been challenged by Knox and Goodspeed who claim that something quite different actually took

¹ See pp. 72ff.

² Ibid., p. 23, f.n. 5; Marcion and the New Testament, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, p. 132ff.

³ E. J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the New Testament, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. viiff. and 210ff. J. Knox also supports this theory in his Marcion and the New Testament, pp. 57ff. & 172ff.

⁴ Knox and Goodspeed believe that it was Onesimus of Colossae who made the collection of Paul's letters at Ephesus, c. A.D. 90. This action was prompted by the publication of the Acts since after its appearance every book shows the influence of Paul's letters.

place. Paul's letters, they argue, instead of being treasured by their recipients were actually lost or destroyed. It was only as Paul's name itself was in danger of becoming a mere echo from the past that some disciple of his collected together all the letters he could find and published them. Up to the present time this theory has not received sufficient attention in Britain, but recent publications are an attempt to correct this situation.¹ However, one cannot disregard the fact that such notable scholars as A. von Harnack,² Kirsopp Lake,³ B. H. Streeter,⁴ and P. N. Harrison⁵ have held the opinion that the Pauline corpus came into being by a gradual process. It is not easy to draw assured conclusions in the present state of our knowledge but we are inclined to favour the theory of Goodspeed and Knox. A still further possibility, that individual letters were cherished by the churches to which they were addressed, cannot be lightly dismissed.

THE VALUE OF ACTS AS A SOURCE

Did Luke Know Paul's Epistles?

John Knox thinks that Luke "knew the letters (or some of them)

¹ C. L. Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, (1955), makes a careful examination of the conventional and unconventional theories; P. N. Harrison, Paulines and Pastorals, (1964), chap. VI.

² A. von Harnack, Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen Christlichen Briefsammlungen, Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1926, pp. 7-8.

³ K. Lake, ^{Earlier} The Epistles of St. Paul, London: Rivingtons, 1911.

⁴ B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1926, pp. 526ff.

⁵ P. N. Harrison, Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians, Cambridge: University Press, 1936, pp. 235-239. Harrison has now revised his opinion and agrees with Goodspeed and Knox that Paul's letters were collected by Onesimus at Ephesus, c. A.D. 90. See Paulines and Pastorals, (1964), pp. 31, 56.

but made little use of them in his narrative".¹ W. L. Knox is of the opinion that "Luke knew more of Paul's epistles...than is sometimes allowed".² On the other hand A. D. Nock represents a large number of scholars when he states that "The writer of Acts shows no clear acquaintance with Paul's letters...."³ In our judgment it seems almost certain that since Luke was Paul's companion at the time during which he wrote the epistles to the Corinthians, Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon and Colossians (if Paul did write Colossians), he must have been acquainted with some of them. If this assumption is true then we are faced with a puzzling question--how are we to account for the fact that Luke made little or no use of them? It may be argued that the epistles did not contain the kind of information that Luke wanted for his book. Thus C. H. Buck, Jr., says: "He may have possessed the letters and known their contents and still not have reproduced them because they were not his preferred source."⁴ But this argument suffers shipwreck when we compare Acts 15 with the evidence of the Epistles. Unless, as we have noted above, the letters were not at first treasured by their recipients, and "those which were not either destroyed or lost, were forgotten and left, idle and unremembered, either in some church

¹ J. Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, p. 133.

² W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, Cambridge: University Press, 1948, p. 28, f.n. 1.

³ A. D. Nock, St. Paul, London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1938, p. 84.

⁴ C. H. Buck, Jr., "The Collection for the Saints", Harvard Theological Review, XLIII, (1950), p. 23.

safe or some church officer's cupboard".¹ According to G. H. C. Macgregor² a detailed comparison of the Acts and the Epistles reveals that only two passages in Acts may be considered verbal echoes of Paul, namely, Acts 9:21 - "Is not this the man who made havoc (πορθησας) in Jerusalem of those who called on this name?" and Gal. 1:13 - "I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it" (ἐπόρθουν). Again Acts 14:15, "That you should turn from these vain things to a living God" and I Thess. 1:9, "You turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God." We may conclude that although Luke may have been present during the writing of some of Paul's letters he did not use them as a source of information when writing Acts. E. J. Goodspeed has said that it was Paul's life and not his letters which exerted an influence on Luke's writings. "This is especially clear in the Acts, which, with all its interest in Paul, never reflects his letters. In fact the writer of Acts cannot have been acquainted with his letters, or he would have used them with great effect to strengthen and enrich his story of the work of Paul. Other letters he professes to know of (Acts 15:23-30 and 23:25-30) but not Paul's. Historical scholarship is reasonably united upon the conclusion that no collection of Paul's letters was known to the writer of Acts."³

¹ C. L. Mitton, op. cit., p. 13.

² G. H. C. Macgregor, "Introduction, the Acts of the Apostles", The Interpreter's Bible, IX, (1954), pp. 10, 11.

³ E. J. Goodspeed, New Solutions of New Testament Problems, Chicago: The University Press, 1927, pp. 1ff.

This does not mean that Luke's work is thereby rendered worthless. His work may still be a reliable source in many respects but it does mean that on the precise points where Luke appears to differ from the Letters Knox's case is somewhat strengthened. We shall adopt tentatively the position that Luke did not have access to a collection of Paul's letters when he wrote Acts (assuming he was the author) though he may have been present when some of them were written. It is quite possible that he forgot much of their content in the interval of time between their dictation and his composition of Acts.

The Greek Text of Acts

Two main types of text have been preserved for the Book of Acts (1) the "Alexandrian" (also known as the "Neutral") as represented by the oldest uncials - Codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Chester Beatty Papyrus, supported by the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peshitta and the Greek Fathers, e.g. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Chrysostom and (2) the "Western" text which in Acts differs more widely than in the other books of the New Testament and is represented by Codices Bezae, Floriacensis and Laudianus, supported by the Latin Versions (less the Vulgate), the margin of the Harclean Syriac, Irenaeus, the Latin Fathers, e.g. Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. The term "Western" is a misnomer since papyri of this type have been discovered in Egypt.¹ Both texts are set out side by side for easy comparison by J. H. Ropes.²

¹ A. F. J. Klijn, "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts (1949-1959)," Novum Testamentum, III, (1959), p. 1.

² J. H. Ropes, Beginnings of Christianity, (edited by K. Lake & F. J. Foakes-Jackson), III, 1926. See also J. M. Wilson, The Acts of the Apostles, 1923, which prints Codex Bezae in English translation, indicating its divergences in bold faced type.

Before we proceed further in our study of Lucan sources we must come to some decision regarding these two texts of Acts. Which are we going to use? The fact that two texts exist does not necessarily mean that one is by Luke and the other by someone else. It has been customary in most English versions (e.g. the RSV and NEB)¹ to follow in general the "Alexandrian" text which is probably nearer to what Luke actually wrote. But whereas in the past there was a tendency to reject the "Western" text now it is coming to be regarded more favourably by some critics.² In any study of the text of Acts each variant has to be considered on its own merits.³ For the purposes of this thesis we must confine ourselves merely to a brief consideration of a

¹ In a survey which we made of 21 selected variants in Acts the NEB follows the Alexandrian Text in 19 instances and gives the Western reading in a foot-note in 4 of these cases. The Western reading is preferred in only 2 instances.

² See A. C. Clark, The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946, p. 212; É. Trocmé, Le 'Livre des Actes' et L'histoire, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957, pp. 25ff; M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 15.

³ e.g. A. F. J. Klijn, "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts (1949-1959)", Novum Testamentum, III, (1959), p. 169: "In the last ten years not many studies on the text of Acts appeared. Nevertheless we may say that very important results have been gained. In all studies a tendency is seen to lay stress on each individual reading. This is certainly due to the now generally accepted 'eclectic' method." J. Dupont, "Les Problèmes du Livre des Actes d'après les travaux récents", Analecta Louvanensia Biblica et Orientalia, Ser. II. Fasc. 17, (1950), p. 26: "Renonçant donc à s'appuyer sur une seule branche de la tradition la critique actuelle du texte des Actes est eclectique." G. S. C. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles (Black's New Testament Commentaries), p. 49: "It is now a commonplace of criticism that each variant has to be considered on its own merits; a textual type cannot be accepted in toto."

few examples of the variants which may have some bearing on Paul's life.¹

ACTS 11:28² - The "Western" reading adds to the verse the information "and there was a great exultation, and when we were assembled...". (ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις· συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη). The possibility of this being a "we-passage" and therefore a part of Luke's travel diary makes it particularly interesting. Was Luke then present at Antioch when Agabus predicted the world-wide famine? If so was he then a native of Antioch?³

ACTS 12:25 - While this is admittedly not a straight forward "Alexandrian" versus "Western" variant it has a significant bearing on Paul's chronology (see pp. 145, 214). Three variants are cited in the Apparatus of Nestle's text. Βαρναβᾶς δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν (ἐξ, εἰς, ἀπὸ) Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

ACTS 15:1-15 - The "Alexandrian" text informs us that Paul and Barnabas were sent up to Jerusalem by the Church at Antioch. The "Western" text enhances the prestige of the Jerusalem Church by saying

¹ For a comprehensive treatment of the textual variations see J. H. Ropes, Beginnings of Christianity, III, and A. F. J. Klijn, A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospel and Acts, Utrecht: 1949; "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospel and Acts (1949-1959)", Novum Testamentum, III, (1959), pp. 1-27, 161-173.

² This verse was one of six which C. C. Torrey regarded as examples of "serious mistranslation". See The Composition and Date of Acts, Cambridge: Mass., 1916, pp. 10-22. For a discussion of the expression ἔφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην found in this context see M. Wilcox who rejects Torrey's claims for an underlying Aramaic document, op. cit., p. 147ff.

³ This evidence has a bearing on the authorship of Acts, (See pp. 36f.). Cf. R. Glover, "'Luke the Antiochene' and Acts", New Testament Studies, XI, (1964), pp. 97-106. M. Wilcox finds evidence in the "Kerygmatic" or "credal" passages in Acts for a link with the Church at Antioch. See M. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 183.

that they - and not the Antiochene Christians - invited Paul and Barnabas to come to Jerusalem.

ACTS 15:20-29 & 21:25 - The "Alexandrian" text lists four prohibitions - "to abstain from things polluted by contact with idols, from fornication, from anything that has been strangled, and from blood". The "Western" text lists only three prohibitions omitting "from anything that has been strangled" thus reducing the decrees and confining them to moral regulations without any reference to ceremonial ritual prohibitions.

ACTS 16:8 - The παρελθόντες of the "Alexandrian" text implies that the missionaries passed through Mysia on their way to Troas without stopping to preach in any of the towns. The NEB renders it - "so they skirted Mysia". The διελθόντες of the "Western" text indicated a visit of longer duration and would leave room for evangelization. The NEB renders this variant as "traversed".

ACTS 17:4 - The "Alexandrian" text speaks of "God-fearing Greeks" (τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων); whereas the "Western" text distinguishes between two classes of people by inserting καὶ after σεβομένων. (τῶν τε σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων). Sir William Ramsay preferred the "Western" reading because he thought the author intended to make a distinction between "God-fearing Greeks" (σεβόμενοι) and "heathen Greeks".¹

ACTS 18:21 - The "Western" text adds: "because he was anxious to

¹ W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen, (10th ed.), London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908, pp. 226ff. and 235ff.

be in Jerusalem for the feast" (δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα). This variant has an important bearing on the chronology of Paul's second missionary journey (see p. 317, f.n. 2).

ACTS 19:9a - The word πλήθους designates the Jewish community or synagogue in the "Alexandrian" text whereas it refers to the Gentiles in the "Western".

ACTS 19:9b - After "lecture-hall of Tyrannus" the "Western" text adds the words "from eleven to four" (literally, from the fifth to the tenth hour, ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης).

ACTS 20:3-5 - According to the "Alexandrian" text a plot by the Jews against Paul's life makes a sea voyage dangerous so the Apostle changes his plans to thwart his enemies and returns instead overland via Macedonia. In the "Western" text Paul makes the sea voyage.

F. Blass¹ was of the opinion that there were two recensions of the original text, one which Luke revised and issued to Theophilus at Antioch (the "Alexandrian" and Blass's α text) and the other the original draft which Luke issued to the church at Rome (the "Western" and Blass's β text). This theory has found little support among present day scholars. The "Alexandrian" text is generally thought to be the more primitive of the two and the "Western" to be the result of scribal alterations. Matthew Black however believes that the Bezan Codex is the

¹ F. Blass, "Die zweifache Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte", Theologische Studien und Kritiken, (1894), pp. 89-90.

more primitive text and stands nearer the underlying Aramaic tradition.¹ Throughout this thesis the "Alexandrian" text will be used but whenever any significant "Western" variations occur which have any bearing on Pauline chronology they will be noted and taken into account.

The Date of Acts

Luke probably wrote Acts soon after he wrote his Gospel so that any discussion concerning the date of the first volume is relevant to the second.² Most scholars are agreed that the two books were written within five years of each other but they are not at all agreed on the dating and opinions range as wide as one hundred years apart. C. K. Barrett has noted this difficulty: "Luke himself stands at a point (a point very difficult to settle in chronological terms) in the development of early

¹ M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964, p. 29. The first to suggest that Acts was based on Aramaic sources was J. A. Bolton in 1799 (Die Geschichte der Apostel von Lukas übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, Altona). Cf. C. C. Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts, (Harvard Theological Studies), I, Cambridge, Mass., 1916. Torrey's theory that the first fifteen chapters of Acts represent a translation of an Aramaic original has not met with any general agreement among critics. Burkitt, Foakes-Jackson, Goodspeed, Cadbury and others have criticized Torrey's theory with compelling force. We do not think that Torrey's thesis has been fully demonstrated. See also H. F. D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of the Acts", Journal of Theological Studies, I, (1950), pp. 16-28; M. Wilcox concludes that the evidence does not support the actual use by Luke of Semitic sources but "protruding Semitisms" are signs of primitive material. "The inquiry does not suggest, much less warrant, a double-edition theory of Acts, but it does tend to enhance the claims of the so-called 'eclectic' method of textual criticism." op. cit., p. 185.

² H. J. Cadbury dates the Acts before the Gospel. C. S. C. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles, (Black's New Testament Commentaries), London: Adam & Charles Black, 1957, p. 12, adopts a similar position.

Christianity."¹ Discussions on the dating of Luke's books fall into three main categories:

I. There are those who favour an early dating (c. A.D. 60-64).

The chief protagonist for this view was Harnack² who argued that both Luke's Gospel and Acts were written while Paul was still alive. He was supported in this view by many critics of his own time including Hofmann, Thiersch, Wieseler, Resch, Blass and Plummer. Harnack thought that Luke composed Acts during the two years of Paul's custody at Rome and that the explanation for the rather unsatisfactory ending was to be found in the fact that the narrative had caught up with the events, i.e. A.D. 64. On the other hand, J. de Zwaan³ and H. Lietzmann⁴ thought that Luke must have died before his book (Acts) was completed which theory would also account for the abrupt ending.

Assuming that it was published posthumously immediately after his

¹ C. K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, p. 22.

² A. von Harnack, The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911, pp. 90-135, and Acts of the Apostles, pp. 290-297. Originally Harnack thought that Acts was composed around A.D. 80 but he later revised his opinion and held that it was written during Paul's imprisonment at Rome. See E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 30.

³ J. de Zwaan, De Handelingen der Apostelen, Gröningen - The Hague, 1920, pp. 11-14; "Was the Book of Acts a Posthumous Edition?" Harvard Theological Review, XVI, No. 2 (1924), pp. 95-153. De Zwaan thinks that Luke wrote about 75-80 but did not finish his work. It was published later (under Trajan c. 110) by another author.

⁴ H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, London: Nicholson & Watson, 1938, p. 100.

death, G. S. Duncan¹ has put forward the theory that Luke wrote Acts to supply Paul with a brief for his defence before Caesar, i.e. before A.D. 65. The arguments in favour of this early dating may be summarized as follows:

(1) It helps to explain the rather unsatisfactory ending of Acts, which makes no mention of Paul's death.²

(2) The statement in Acts 20:25, 38 that the elders at Ephesus would never see Paul's face again is difficult to understand if Luke knew that Paul would return again to Ephesus (2 Tim. 1:18). However this argument only holds if 2 Tim. 1:18 is a genuine reference to a later visit of Paul which many critics would not accept.³

(3) It is also very strange, if Acts was written later, why Luke made no mention of Paul's intention to visit Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28) or the fact that he may even have done so.

(4) Luke's writings do not seem to reflect the persecution which came upon the church after A.D. 64-65 - a strange omission if he was writing during those days of terror, but not if he was writing considerably

¹ G. S. Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1929, pp. 97ff. Duncan notes that this viewpoint was previously advocated by Aberle as far back as 1855. This is also the view of the Dutch scholar, Plooijs.

² An interesting suggestion for the sudden ending of Acts has been made by Macgregor and Morton, The Structure of the Fourth Gospel, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1961, pp. 20-21 where they present the theory that Luke may have come to the end of his codex. However, this theory is based on the assumption that Luke was using a codex with a limited number of pages, which has not been proven.

³ P. N. Harrison regards it as a genuine Pauline note. See The Problems of the Pastoral Epistles, p. 125.

later.

(5) The same may be said of the Fall of Jerusalem which took place in A.D. 70. Some critics see in Luke 19:43 and 21:20 evidence that Luke changed the wording of his source to make it square with the knowledge of the catastrophe, but this has never been proved, (see (3) below).

(6) The author's accurate references to names would not be so easily recalled after a long absence of time unless of course the names were preserved in his source. E.g. The author of Acts makes casual references to Jason (17:5); Alexander (19:33); Mnason (21:16); and even the name of Paul's ship (28:11) which are the kind of details that are normally forgotten by someone writing twenty years after the events. We do not think this argument has any weight since we have argued for Luke's use of sources (see p. 41).

(7) The hatred between Jews and Christians which was characteristic of their relationships following A.D. 70 is not particularly noticeable in Luke's writings as one would expect it to be if he were writing after the catastrophe.

The arguments which are usually marshalled against an early dating of the Lucan writings are summarized below:

(1) If Luke's Gospel was written before Acts around A.D. 60, then Mark must have been written earlier still because Luke used Mark. This throws Mark back to about A.D. 55 which, while not impossible, is usually considered to be too early by most critics.

(2) The apparent contradictions and differences between Paul's Epistles and Acts are understandable if Acts was written a long time after

the letters. But if Luke and Paul were travelling companions at the time they were both writing then it is a mystery how Luke could have been unaware of certain things.¹

(3) The Gospel must have been written after the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. A comparison of Matt. 24:15 with Luke 19:43 and 21:20 strongly suggests that Luke was well aware that Jesus' prediction about Jerusalem had indeed come to pass and that he altered the words to make them square with the event. Streeter has summed up this argument with the words: "Seeing that in A.D. 70 the appearance of the Anti-Christ did not take place, but the things which Luke mentions did, the alteration is most reasonably explained as due to the author's knowledge of these facts."²

(4) Luke's omission of the delivery of the "collection" to the Jerusalem Church can more easily be accounted for if he were writing many years after the event.

(5) Some critics are of the opinion that the speech made by Gamaliel in Acts 5:35-39 reflects a dependence on Josephus, and since he wrote about A.D. 93 Acts cannot have been written earlier than that date. Scholars however are not in agreement on this point and the argument cuts both ways - Josephus may equally well have been dependent on Luke's writings.

¹ E.g. The narrative of Acts progresses in ever widening geographical circles with three well-defined missionary journeys. Paul's letters on the other hand make references to other apostolic activities, e.g. 2 Cor. 11:23ff., and Rom. 15:19 which cannot be easily fitted into the scheme of Acts.

² B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, p. 540. This argument is inconclusive. Luke's language is restrained and parallels for it may be found in Daniel. See W. F. Blunt, Acts, p. 27.

II. There are those, and they are by far the greater number of critics,¹ who prefer a date between A.D. 80-95. This dating is governed by two criteria: (i) that Luke used Mark and therefore he must have written sometime after A.D. 65 when it is generally agreed that Mark's Gospel appeared in Rome and (ii) that Luke must have written Acts (and the Gospel just previous to it) before A.D. 95 because:

(a) He makes no use of Paul's letters which were first circulated in collected form in Rome around A.D. 95. The evidence for this is the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (he knows and quotes from Romans, I Corinthians, and appears to know Ephesians and Philippians - chapter 49 is a hymn to "love" modelled upon I Cor. 13).

(b) He makes no reference to Gnostic or Docetic heresies² which seem to have been so much in the mind of the writer of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles.

(c) He does not seem to be aware of any general persecution of the Church by Rome or he would hardly have shown Roman officials in such favourable light.

(d) There is no early evidence for the existence of Luke-Acts, that is, prior to A.D. 110.

(e) The ecclesiastical background of Acts reflects a "Primitive Catholicism" (Frühkatholizismus). This term is particularly associated with E. Käsemann. In Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LIV, (1957),

¹ E.g. Streeter, Goodspeed, Dodd, Blunt, Dibelius, Haenchen, Barrett, etc.

² Except perhaps in Acts 20:29-30.

p. 20 he writes: "Lukas ist...der erste Repräsentant des werdenden Frölkatholizismus." E. Haenchen finds evidence for dating Acts c. A.D. 95 on the grounds that Luke makes a clear distinction between the "twelve" and the "apostles". For Luke Paul is an "apostle" but not on an equality with the "twelve". In his letters, however, Paul claims equal status (I Cor. 9:1, 15:9; Gal. 1-2). Haenchen sees this divergence of viewpoint as a reflection of the difference in outlook between the apostolic and post-apostolic ages.¹ A second point in Haenchen's argument for dating Acts c. A.D. 95 is the shift that he notes in the antithesis between Pauline and Jewish Christianity as reflected in the Epistles and Acts. In the Epistles the conflict is mainly between the Judaizers (those Jewish-Christians who are insisting that the Gentile converts must first submit to the Law of Moses) and Paul who fervently declares that the Gentiles need not come to the faith by any such circuitous route. According to Acts the conflict is with the preaching of the resurrection but according to Paul's letters it is not this doctrine that stirred up the hatred of the Jews but the question of the Law. In Acts the conflict is not primarily with Jewish-Christians but with Jews who regard Paul as a renegade and harass him at every step of his missionary career because of his message of the resurrection and his missionary zeal.² This shift in the nature

¹ E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 101. The terms "Apostolic Age" and "post-Apostolic Age" are not dated consistently by scholars. E.g. W. D. Davies means by the Apostolic Age roughly the period from A.D. 30-100, Peake's Commentary (1962), p. 870; Bo Reicke says "The Apostolic Age runs from A.D. 30 to 66" and "the first post-apostolic epoch may be said to cover the years A.D. 66-96", The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude (Anchor Bible), p. xvff; C. H. Turner defined the Apostolic Age as the period lying between the Crucifixion (A.D. 29) and the destruction of the Temple, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, p. 415.

² E. Haenchen, Ibid., pp. 102ff.

of the opposition is, Haenchen believes, due to the reflection of a more catholic Christianity which was itself becoming increasingly moralistic in the post-apostolic age (nachapostolischen Zeit).

III. There are those who would date the writings of Luke very late. E.g. the radical Dutch scholar W. C. van Manen would place Luke-Acts somewhere between A.D. 125-150.¹ C. K. Barrett would put it somewhat earlier around A.D. 110 on the grounds that there is no external evidence for its existence before that date. E. Käsemann thinks that Acts represents an "early catholicism" and therefore must be dated late.² J. C. O'Neill favours a date between A.D. 115 and 130.³ F. W. Beare says of Luke-Acts: "In its present form it seems to bear marks of the second century, and may even be as late as the middle of the century."⁴ Those who argue for such a late dating do so on the grounds that the author of Luke-Acts was an ardent Paulinist but not a travelling companion or contemporary of Paul.

It is evident from the above discussion that any decision regarding the dating of Luke-Acts is closely related to a decision concerning authorship. In the first two categories concerning time cited above, namely,

¹ He also declared that all the Pauline Epistles were pseudepigraphs emanating from a Pauline school far on in the second century.

² Käsemann has not published a book exclusively dealing with Acts. This opinion is gleaned from references in articles which he has published in Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche (see bibliography).

³ J. C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting, London: S.P.C.K., 1961.

⁴ F. W. Beare, The Earliest Records of Jesus, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962, p. 15.

A.D. 60-64 and A.D. 80-95 the author could have been a contemporary of Paul, but in the third category, i.e. A.D. 95 onwards this would not have been possible. The reason for this is because it is later than the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians which indicates that Paul's letters were known at that time. G. W. Lampe has said: "His (Luke's) ignorance of the Pauline Epistles will forbid a late date."¹ Since we go on to discuss authorship in what follows it seems best at this point to postpone judgment until that evidence has been considered. We proceed to that task now.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF ACTS

(1) EXTERNAL EVIDENCE. (a) The Muratorian Canon (c. A.D. 180-190)² gives it the title The Acts of the Apostles and declares that "... the Acts of all the Apostles are written in one book. For the 'most excellent Theophilus' Luke summarizes the several things that in his own presence have come to pass,...".³ It also states that the third book of

¹ G. W. H. Lampe, "Luke", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1962, p. 820.

² It is usually dated around the time of Irenaeus, i.e. c. A.D. 180-190, but many scholars prefer to date it c. A.D. 200.

³ E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha (Eng. trans. edited by R. McL. Wilson) London: Lutterworth Press, 1963, pp. 43ff.

the Gospel is that according to St. Luke the physician. (b) Irenaeus (c. A.D. 178) in his treatise Adversus haereses, III. I. 1. (as quoted by Eusebius in his Historia Ecclesiastica V. 8) says that "Luke, the follower of Paul set down in a book the gospel preached by his teacher". (c) Anti-Marcionite Prologue (c. A.D. 180)¹ states that Luke was a Syrian doctor, a native of Antioch, a companion of Paul, wrote the Gospel in Achaëa, died unmarried and childless in Boeotia at the age of eighty-four, and that he was the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. (d) Other writers such as Clement of Alexandria in his Stromateis. V. 12; Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, IV. 2; Origen (in Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica. VI. 25); Eusebius Historia Ecclesiastica. III. 4. 24; and Jerome, De viris illustribus, VII, all support the evidence that Luke is the author of the Gospel and Acts. (e) The earliest evidence comes from St. Ignatius of Antioch (c. A.D. 110) who apparently knew Acts if not as "Holy Scripture" at least as Christian literature before A.D. 117.²

¹ See R. G. Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues", Journal of Theological Studies, (New Series), VI, (1955), pp. 1-16. Heard does not agree with de Bruyne and Harnack who advocate a 2nd. cent. date, nevertheless he admits that it may be based on an early form of the prologue which dates from that time. In this article Heard gives the Greek text with translation and concludes that "The Prologue to Luke, in its present form designed as a Prologue for a copy of Luke circulating separately, contains a phrase drawn from Irenaeus, and dates from the third or early fourth century. Its first paragraph, which may represent an earlier form of the Prologue, contains valuable information about Luke and is an important witness to the truth of the tradition on his authorship of the third gospel." p. 16. Cf. E. C. Blackman, Marcion and His Influence, London: S.P.C.K., 1948, pp. 54-57.

² See W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, Cambridge: University Press, 1948, p. 2, f.n. 1, says: "Ignatius...is steeped in a New Testament of which Acts is a part."

(2) INTERNAL EVIDENCE. Does the internal evidence of the New Testament concerning Luke square with the external evidence? The tradition that Luke was a physician is confirmed by Col. 4:14 (Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς) and Luke also is named as one of Paul's companions in Philem. 24¹ and 2 Tim. 4:11. We may add to this the "we-passages" which indicate that the author must have been a travelling-companion of Paul on the occasions mentioned (Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-7; 27:1-28:16).² To this may also possibly be added the variant reading of the "Western" text at Acts 11:28 (see p. 25). This evidence does not confirm beyond a doubt that Luke was the author of Acts but it does support the external evidence.

Luke-Acts by the Same Author.

Most modern scholars, even those of the most radical schools, are agreed that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are by the same author and that that man was Luke. Six reasons may be submitted in support of the Lucan authorship of both books.

The first, and most obvious, is that both books have prefaces which critics agree were written by the same man and both are dedicated to the same person - Theophilus. Just who or what is meant by Theophilus is not our concern here but the fact that the same person is referred to

¹ Pl N. Harrison regards this as a genuine Pauline statement.

² "The great chronological and geographical accuracy of the narrative must come from an account of Paul's journeys made by one of his companions." J. Dupont, The Sources of Acts, p. 133. E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, pp. 76-78.

in both books is seldom questioned.¹ The preface of Acts 1:1 has a cross-reference to the Gospel. As G. H. C. Macgregor has pointed out: "The opening verses of Luke appear to be a general prooimion covering both volumes, for the words 'the things that have been accomplished among us' (Lk. 1:1) obviously have reference not only to the contents of the Gospel, but to the whole story of the birth and growth of Christianity, which is the theme of both books. Similarly the preface of Acts is a conventional proekthesis, which refers to 'the first book' (Acts 1:1), or 'volume one' as we should say, and picks up the thread of events where it was broken off."² The Gospel ends with Jesus' promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit and the command to wait in Jerusalem until power is given from on high. Acts begins where the Gospel leaves off and tells of the fulfilment of that promise on the day of Pentecost. The Gospel and Acts therefore are volumes I and II of a single work.

The second reason given for Lucan authorship of both the Gospel and Acts is that both books share common interests and emphases, e.g.

(i) Both show an interest in the Gentiles - Simeon hailed Jesus as "a light to lighten the Gentiles" and Acts tells of the Gospel being received by the Gentile Cornelius. (ii) Both show an interest in women -

¹ E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 105, f.n. 4, following Streeter, suggests that Theophilus was a pseudonym for the consul Flavius Clemens who was beheaded by Domitian in A.D. 95 (see Dio Cassius, Rom. Hist. LXVII. xiv. lff.; Eusebius, Ch. Hist., III. xviii). This places the dating of Acts in the sub-apostolic age.

² G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles", The Interpreter's Bible, New York & Nashville: Abingdon Press, IX, (1954), p. 4. These prefaces were fashionable among Hellenistic writers. Works were often divided into several logoi (or books). At the beginning of the first volume there was a general preface or prooimion and at the beginning of each subsequent volume there was a proekthesis which linked it up with the preceding volume.

Jesus stays at the house of Mary and Martha and Acts gives the account of Paul sharing the hospitality of Lydia, etc. (iii) Both show a particular interest in the value of prayer - Jesus prays before the choice of the twelve, on the Mount of Transfiguration and in Gethsemane and Paul and Silas pray at midnight in the prison at Philippi, etc. (iv) Both show that the Gospel is accompanied by joy - the angel's message when Christ is born is of good tidings of great joy and the Ethiopian eunuch who receives the glad tidings from Philip goes on his way rejoicing. There are other parallels in interest and emphasis between the two books but these will be sufficient to establish the point.

The third argument in favour of Lucan authorship for both books is that they show a similarity of literary style and vocabulary.¹ This does not mean of course that the vocabularies of both books are the same or that all of Acts is written in the same style throughout, (Luke adapted his style to suit his purpose using classical, septuagintal or koiné Greek) but it does mean that speaking generally the impression which the reader gets is that the language and style of writing in both volumes reflects a common authorship. H. J. Cadbury summarizes this when he says that "there may be slight variation between Acts as a whole and the gospel as a whole, but not the kind to point to a different editor".

A fourth reason for belief in common authorship stems from the evidence provided by the "we-sections" where the use of the first person

¹ M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, pp. 56ff.

² H. J. Cadbury, "The Acts of the Apostles", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I, New York & Nashville: Abingdon Press, (1962), p. 38. Cf. The Making of Luke-Acts, p. 8.

plural implies that the writer was a travelling companion of Paul at the time the events occurred. The Pauline Epistles provide us with names of a number of candidates who might have kept this diary, e.g. Silas, Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus and Luke.¹ All these men, according to Paul's own evidence, were with him at one time or another and shared in his experiences. But the choice must fall upon Luke since he was the one who was with Paul the most often. If the Gospel and Acts had come down to us as two volumes by an anonymous author critics would have credited the authorship to Luke on the basis of the internal evidence of the Pauline Epistles and the similarities between the two books. Indeed some critics have accused the church of designating Luke as the author by just such a process! Even the most radical scholars concede the point that at least the diary is by Luke. Thus Windisch writing in The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. III, p. 342 says: "The author (of the book as a whole) was not Luke: but he used as a source a diary of Luke's."

The fifth reason follows naturally upon the previous one, namely, the evidence of ancient tradition which is unanimous in its support of Lucan authorship. A sixth and final test for determining whether Luke composed both the Gospel and Acts is the answer to the question: Are the two books completely out of line with what we learn from the Pauline Epistles? In other words, Is the Paul of Acts out of character with the Paul who reveals himself through his letters? And furthermore, Is the account of Paul's career as seen in Acts contradictory to that which is reflected in the Epistles? John Knox and many other scholars would say

¹ See J. Dupont, The Sources of Acts, pp. 79, 80, f.n. 8 & 9.

that it was. We cannot at this stage debate the question even though it is the crux of our study. All we can do at this juncture is to state that the majority of critics agree that Luke who accompanied Paul on the journeys reflected in the diary, was also the author of Acts and the Gospel.

We may return now to the question of dating which we left in abeyance on p. 36. If the dating is tied in with the question of authorship as we contend, then the evidence given above tends to support the conclusion that the author of Luke-Acts must have written his books sometime between the years A.D. 60 to A.D. 95. The late dating, i.e. A.D. 95-150 conflicts with both the external evidence (see p. 36) and the internal evidence (see pp. 36-42) and this combined weight of evidence is in favour of a verdict for a dating between A.D. 60 and A.D. 95.

But what of the other two possibilities? Are we to accept the early or middle dating, i.e. A.D. 80-95 or 60-64? The arguments are evenly balanced and it is impossible to be dogmatic one way or the other. A review of the evidence leads to the conclusion that the choice between the early dating and the middle dating remains an open question. E. Haenchen favours the latter and finds evidence for his position on the grounds that Luke makes a clear distinction between the "twelve" and the "apostles". For Luke Paul is an apostle but not on the same footing with the "twelve". In his letters, however, Paul claims equal stature, but not one of the "twelve". (e.g. I Cor. 9:1, 15:9; Gal. 1-2). Haenchen regards this divergence in viewpoint between the author of Luke-Acts and Paul as reflecting the difference between the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. He therefore concludes that Acts was written around A.D. 95. Luke-Acts was

written by an ardent Paulinist. The real Paul who was known to his followers is replaced by a Paul of later times. Early Christianity is not here being described by one who experienced it.¹ T. W. Manson² thought that Acts was written around A.D. 70 and that Luke was in Achaia at the time and therefore had not heard of Paul's martyrdom. We lack evidence for well-grounded assertions but it is improbable that Luke would not have heard of Paul's death by A.D. 70. It did not take so long for news to travel in the ancient world. There are many scholars who think that Luke completed his second book while Paul was still alive around A.D. 64. This would account for Luke's silence concerning Paul's end, and, as we have noted previously, would help to explain Luke's failure to use Paul's letters, assuming that they had been destroyed or lost. However, neither of these arguments is conclusive. It would be just as feasible to argue that Luke's silence concerning Paul's end is due to the fact that he planned to write a third volume, an ambition which he either never achieved or if he did then the book has not survived. Or it could be argued that the original ending of Acts (like that probably of Mark) has been lost. Luke's failure to use Paul's letters is equally well accounted for by the argument that they were not gathered together until around A.D. 95 and therefore were not available to him. What then are we to say? It would seem to us that the observations made by Haenchen and others concerning the shift in theological emphasis between the Epistles and Acts (as outlined on p. 34) cannot be easily dismissed. Acts does seem to have been

¹ E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 103.

² T. W. Manson, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XXVIII, (1944), p. 403.

written at a time when the problems which faced the Church were those of the post-apostolic age. The conflict over whether Christians should submit to the Jewish Law is over and the question now concerns the tension between the Jews and the emerging catholicism. Luke's use of Mark would also mean that he was writing after A.D. 64. Moreover the picture which Acts presents of a stylized account of the progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome is the kind of thing one would expect only after a considerable lapse of time. The overall picture which Acts presents is that the author is writing his book about the Apostolic Age for guidance to readers who live in post-apostolic times, i.e. from A.D. 80-95. We therefore agree with Haenchen on the dating but disagree on authorship. We think Luke, the companion of Paul, was the author, which is quite feasible if he lived to be eighty-four years of age (see Anti-Marcionite Prologue, p. 37).

Luke the Historian.

The nineteenth century marked the beginning of a critical approach to the Book of Acts.¹ It was Scheckenburger in 1841 who first seriously questioned Luke's value as an historian when he propounded the thesis that Luke was motivated not so much by a desire to record history as by an apologetic tendency. As a result Scheckenburger dismissed Acts as Tendenzschrift. This "Purpose-Criticism" hypothesis was carried on by F. C. Baur and E. Zeller and the Tübingen school² and although A. von Harnack

¹ Source-Criticism (Quellenkritik) of Acts began earlier. B. L. Königsmann (1798), J. A. Bolton (1799), and W. K. L. Ziegler (1801) all identified "sources" in Acts. See J. Dupont, The Sources of Acts, pp. 11, 52; also E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, pp. 22ff.

² For a survey of this whole question see G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles", The Interpreter's Bible, IX, pp. 12-14; J. Dupont, op. cit., p. 10; E. Trocmé, Le 'Livre des Actes' et l'Histoire, pp. 1-30; E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, pp. 14-22; S. Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961, Oxford: University Press, pp. 22ff.

and J. Weiss opposed them vigorously it was not until the publication of Sir William Ramsay's St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen in 1895 that this Tendenzkritik was finally overthrown. Luke now began to be taken seriously as a reputable historian again. A. M. Hunter has said that "Acts began to wear a new look; and though Ramsay went too far in his claims for inerrancy, Luke's good name as a historian was vindicated."¹ The emphasis now shifted to a search for "sources" (Quellenkritik) which reached its culmination in the work of Harnack (1911).² With so many hypotheses being advocated the whole question of "sources" reached a saturation point and the search was dropped. The revival in interest in research on Acts came with the advent of Form-Criticism (Formgeschichte).³ Here the name of Martin Dibelius is famous,⁴ although he was preceded in

¹ A. M. Hunter, Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950, S.C.M. Press, 1951, p. 106. Cf. S. Neill, op. cit., pp. 142ff.

² A. von Harnack, "Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien", Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, I, Leipzig, 1908. See E. Haenchen, op. cit., pp. 25-32.

³ E. Haenchen, loc. cit., pp. 32-47. Haenchen distinguishes two phases in this Form-Criticism of Acts. They correspond to the phases of research on the Synoptic Gospels, viz., Formgeschichte which was characteristic of the first period from 1923-45 and inquired into the history of the individual units of the tradition and Redaktionsgeschichte which is characteristic of the second period from 1945 to the present and is primarily concerned with the author's composition of his work.

⁴ M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles (trans. by Mary Ling and edited by H. Greeven from the German Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte), London: S.C.M. Press, 1956. The German edition appeared in 1951 and represents a series of articles published since 1939. Dibelius' first article in which he applied Form-Criticism to Acts appeared as early as 1923: 'Stilkritisches zur Apostelgeschichte', EYXAPIETHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments H. Gunkel dargebracht (Forschungen zur Rel. und Lit. des A. und N.T., 36), II, Göttingen: 1923, pp. 27-49.

this approach by Edward Norden whose book Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede was first published in 1913 and was well known to Dibelius. Dibelius began with the assumption that Acts could not be judged on the same basis as the Gospel because the material was so different. When writing his Gospel Luke was in the main an arranger of material which had come down to him but in Acts Dibelius saw him much more as the original artist dealing in a unique way with what "sources" he had, namely, his own travel diary, an "itinerary", "legends", and "tales or anecdotes". He says: "The difference from the method followed in Acts is clear. When he wrote the Gospel, Luke had to fit in with a tradition which already had its own stamp upon it, so that he had not the same literary freedom as when he composed the Acts of the Apostles."¹ Thus, he sees Luke not so much as an historian² as an artist who is using the literary methods of the historian to communicate as a preacher. Luke is primarily an evangelist who is concerned to trace the progress of the gospel within the framework of history. "In this way," writes Dibelius,

¹ M. Dibelius, Ibid., p. 185.

² It is perhaps unfortunate that in the English language we have only the one word for history. It is derived from the Greek *ἱστορεῖν* meaning "to learn by enquiry". This is the way in which Herodotus wrote history - by asking questions and displaying an intense curiosity. The verb *ἱστορεῖσθαι* occurs only once in the New Testament (Gal. 1:18) where Paul goes up to Jerusalem "to get to know Cephas" (NEB). Some other languages make a distinction between mere annals and history written up into a story, e.g. The Germans have two words: Historie which means the 'merely historical' and Geschichte which means the 'significantly historical'. (A third word Heilsgeschichte was coined by Hoffmann (c. 1872) to describe the narrative in which the prophet can discern the action of God. It cannot be translated by one word in English hence the retention of the German word in English writing, or the use of the two words "Salvation-History").

"we can clearly see a concern of this author which extends beyond that of the literary historian."¹ Luke may have been the first Christian historian but as such he must interpret events and this he has done according to Dibelius more as an evangelist than as an historian.

The main difference between the old and new methods of criticism may best be stated in Dibelius' own words: "The important point in source-criticism of Acts is that we do not at first approach the text with criticism of the subject matter and with questions as to whether an event was possible or impossible: we ask first of all what the author intends and what means are available. In Acts, as in the Gospel, Luke wishes to be an evangelist; he wishes to portray God's leadership of the Christian community within the framework of its history."² But where Luke's method differs in Acts from that of his Gospel is that in his Gospel he was mainly concerned with arranging the material which he had gathered, whereas Acts was far more Luke's own literary composition. "It is therefore quite wrong to suppose that Luke used the same methods of composition in Acts as he did for the gospel, an erroneous assumption

¹ M. Dibelius, op. cit., p. 133.

² M. Dibelius, Ibid., p. 107.

which dominated the study of Acts in the age of Harnack."¹ This does not mean that Luke did not employ any "sources" in his second volume.²

Dibelius thinks that Luke had access to "legends" (Tabitha, Cornelius, the Ethiopian Eunuch, Ananias and Sapphira). By this term "legends" Dibelius does not necessarily mean what is untrue or unhistorical. The important point is that the story is told to illustrate moral or spiritual excellence. Luke also employed what Dibelius refers to as "profane" stories, e.g. Herod Agrippa's death. To these he added the "speeches" and the "Diary" all of which he linked together by Sammelberichte. This means, according to Dibelius, that we must not merely break the narrative down into sources but we must detect varieties of style underlying the book. To distinguish between what was Luke's source and what was his own composition is a task which requires that each section be dealt with on its own. When this is done Dibelius finds that the purpose of Acts is fundamentally homiletic. Preaching was the Sitz im Leben in which the Kerygma was preserved. "Missionary purpose," writes Dibelius, "was the cause and preaching was the means of spreading abroad that which the

¹ R. H. Fuller, The New Testament in Current Study, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962, p. 92.

² E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 73: "Der Autor hat sie freilich nicht aus dem Blauen gegriffen: das Kerygma von Jesus und der Schriftbeweis speisen die Missionspredigten der Acta, die Biographie des Paulus und seine Bekehrungsgeschichte seine grossen Apologien. Die naive Meinung, Lukas sei bei der Abfassung der Apg ebenso zu Werk gegangen wie bei seinem Evangelium, übersieht, dass ihre Voraussetzung nicht zutrifft: es gab gar keine "Apostelgeschichten", die Lukas so hätte ineinanderarbeiten können wie beim Evangelium den Text des Mk, von "Q" und von jenem Evangelium, aus dem er sein Sondergut entnommen hat."

disciples of Jesus possessed as recollections."¹

Another scholar who has made a notable approach to the question of "Luke's purpose" is Bertil Gärtner. In his book The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation² he presents his main thesis that Luke, although a Greek, follows the Jewish tradition as an historian. Gärtner says that Luke "follows the Jewish tradition in the attitude he takes to his narrative. He looks at the course of events from a religious standpoint."³ In a comparison of the style and purpose of Luke and Josephus, Gärtner arrives at the conclusion that Luke although a Gentile followed the Jewish tradition in his books, and his writings are akin to those of I Maccabees; whereas, Josephus, although a Jew, followed the Greek style of writing. Luke's purpose according to Gärtner is to defend the Church against charges of sedition. Of particular interest from our point of view is Gärtner's attempt to demonstrate that Paul's "speech" on the Areopagus belongs to a tradition that goes back to Paul himself and is not therefore a fabrication of Luke's fertile imagination or of some later author. "In any case," writes Gärtner, "it is irrational to dub the ideas non-Pauline merely because they have no direct parallels in the Epistles. Our knowledge of Paul's theology is still fairly limited. Till it can be shown that the theology of the speech directly conflicts with that of the Epistles, we cannot dismiss its Pauline character. A summary

¹ M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, p. 13.

² B. Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation, Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup & E. Munksgaard, 1955 (trans. by C. H. King).

³ Ibid., p. 26.

of the results of the present study shows that no item in the discourse clashes with what is otherwise known of Paul's theology. There are also certain reasons for presuming that the speech is not sheer invention by Luke but builds on a solid tradition proceeding from Paul's sojourn in Athens: namely, the character of the narrative framework, and certain details in the speech, notably its take-off from the altar 'To an unknown God'.¹

Still another writer who deals with the "purpose" of Acts is Arnold Ehrhardt.² He believes that readers of Acts must make up their minds. Either it was written late - around A.D. 100 - and therefore Luke, the companion of Paul, cannot have been the author, or you accept it at face value. Either the book is a forgery or it is what it claims to be. Ehrhardt thinks that Luke used written sources and therefore although he may have been writing twenty years after the event his work is accurate although governed by his purpose. The purpose of Acts, according to Ehrhardt, was to demonstrate the continuing influence of Jesus in the life of the Church. Acts therefore is none other than "the Gospel of the Holy spirit".³ This he expounds under four headings: (i) The doctrine of the Holy Spirit rests upon the account of his coming on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2). (ii) The Jerusalem Church, following Pentecost, found itself as the "trustee" of the Holy Spirit. It felt itself to be responsible for

¹ Gärtner, Ibid., pp. 249ff.

² A. Ehrhardt, "The Collection and Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles", Studia Theologica, XII, (1958), pp. 45-79.

³ Ibid., p. 67.

exercising discipline and control in this matter. (iii) Paul was a very important link between the "less Catholic" Gentile parts of the Early Church and the "more Catholic" Jewish elements in Jerusalem. Paul's insistence upon the Spirit strengthened the ties with Jerusalem and maintained orthodoxy among the young churches. (iv) It is the Holy Spirit which directs Paul's itinerary (Acts 16:6-10) and eventually brings him to Rome itself as an ambassador of the Holy Spirit.

One of the most important books on this new approach to Lucan theology is Hans Conzelmann's Die Mitte der Zeit.¹ The author sees Luke's purpose as an attempt to explain the fact that the Parousia has been delayed. Luke's concern therefore is mainly theological. He still looks forward to an Endzeit: but an interim period is inserted. The Church stands in the midst of time, i.e., between the time of the life of Jesus in which the future time of salvation was seen in advance in the middle of the history of God's saving acts (Heilsgeschichte) and the End Time (Endzeit). This position in which the Church finds itself gives to it and its messengers a unique privilege within this Heilsgeschichte. "The good news is not that God's Kingdom has come near, but that the life of Jesus provides the foundation for the hope of the future Kingdom. Thus the nearness of the Kingdom has become a secondary factor."² Conzelmann concludes that Luke's theological and eschatological viewpoint is different from that of his sources, and this leads him to make certain significant

¹ H. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, Studien zur Theologie des Lukas, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954, 1957 (2nd. ed.) revised 1960. (English trans. by G. Buswell, The Theology of St. Luke, London: Faber & Faber, 1960).

² Ibid., p. 37.



alterations to them.¹ The question of Luke's value as an historian does not really interest Conzelmann. Luke's concern is theological. In Conzelmann's opinion Luke emerges as a theologian of the post-apostolic age. To say that Luke's own ideas are "better history" than the earlier sources neither confirms nor denies anything about the specific questions of chronology which are our main concern.

The most comprehensive recent treatment of Acts is that by Ernst Haenchen² which will put scholars in its debt for years to come. We cannot assess its value as an exegetical commentary here (550 pages deal with commentary on the text) except to say that it is a most thorough-going piece of work and the careful reader will find in it many fresh insights. Of more interest to us are the sections on the chronology of Acts (pp. 53-64); Luke as historian (pp. 88-93); and Luke and Paul (pp. 99-103). Haenchen agrees with Conzelmann that it is Luke's theological interest which motivates him in the writing of history and it is this fact he says that will determine the study of Acts in the future. But Haenchen makes it plain that Luke is not a systematic theologian who discusses his themes dogmatically but rather he handles them directly and indirectly as vivid pictures. For Haenchen there is very little in Acts which can be regarded as reliable from an historical viewpoint. There are virtually

¹ Ibid., p. 95.

² E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, (H. A. W. Meyer, Kritisch: exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, III, 12th ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959.

no written "sources" except perhaps an Itinerar for Paul's journeys¹ and the "we passages". Haenchen thinks that Luke himself composed the "speeches",² the "summaries" and much of the remainder of the book. Acts is therefore largely the composition of the author. Luke's value as an historian is very little, according to Haenchen. He used quite freely the "traditions" known to him and cannot be regarded as an historian, particularly in the modern sense. Haenchen sees Luke's purpose as an attempt to trace the unbroken continuity of Heilsgeschichte through ancient Israel, Jesus, the Church in Jerusalem and the Gentile Church which expanded westward to Rome. In order to do this Haenchen thinks that Luke sacrificed historical "facts" in an attempt to safeguard the theological continuity of Heilsgeschichte.³ Like Conzelmann he sees Luke conceiving of the period about which he writes as "salvation time". He dates Acts in the post-apostolic age (in the 90's) and does not believe that Luke was ever a travelling companion of Paul.⁴

¹ R. Bultmann has criticized Haenchen for being too much concerned with Luke's total general plan and pattern and not enough concerned with analysis and sifting out of "sources". Simply to refer to "tradition" as Haenchen does is unsatisfactory to Bultmann. See R. Bultmann, "Zur Frage Nach Den Quellen Der Apostelgeschichte", New Testament Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson, (edited by A. J. B. Higgins), Manchester: University Press, 1959, pp. 68-79.

² On the problem of the speeches in Acts see M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, pp. 138-185; C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, pp. 1-73; B. Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation; C. S. C. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 36-48; C. F. Evans, "The Kerygma", Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. III, (1956), pp. 25-41.

³ E. Haenchen, op. cit., pp. 86-88.

⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

Haenchen, like Conzelmann, does not seem to be sensitive to the canons of modern historiography which insist that the historian must re-write his "sources". In Acts Luke selects, interprets and rewrites his material in the light of the changed situation of his time, namely, the delay of the Parousia. The fact that the author of Acts was not a travelling companion of Paul and wrote long after the death of the Apostle does not necessarily mean that what he wrote has no value historically. It could be argued that present events can only be seen in their balanced perspective in the years to come. A. Richardson says: "Judgments made today will need to be modified tomorrow, and this process of continuing reassessment constitutes the essence of history."¹ It is this new view of history which many New Testament scholars do not seem to have grasped. This attitude which still survives among many that Luke cannot be regarded as an historian is out of step with the present-day secular historians and Old Testament Biblical scholars (see pp. 57 and 68).

Finally, something must be said about the French commentary which has been eclipsed by the work of Haenchen. This book is by Étienne Trocmé.² The author makes it clear that this question of "purpose" is one that has occupied the minds of all the critics who have engaged in the

¹ A. Richardson, History, Sacred and Profane, London: S.C.M. Press, 1964, p. 325.

² É. Trocmé, Le 'Livre des Actes' et l'Histoire, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957. Trocmé produced his book unaware that Haenchen was working on the same subject at the same time. Both writers give a historical survey of the research on Acts. Trocmé dates 1. the years of Initial Research (1800-1840); 2. the Tübingen Era (c. 1840-1880); 3. the "Search for Sources" (1880-1905); 4. return to the work "to Theophilus" (1900-1930); 5. the Contemporary Period (since 1930).

discussions relative to the historical value of Acts. Trocmé sees Luke as an evangelist who is conditioned by two distinct variables in the presentation of his message. The first is apologetic and results in a passionate defence of the life of the Apostle Paul. The second pertains to the realm of literature where Luke makes a display of culture in order to reach the middle and upper-class Christians of his time. In order to accomplish this, according to Trocmé, Luke employs the methods of ancient historiographers. He does this by using "speeches" and inserting chronological notes in order to make his narrative come alive. But in spite of this conscious imitation Luke is much more faithful to his "sources" than other ancient historians.

While Trocmé sees Luke as better historian than some of the others mentioned above he does so by the standards which no longer apply among historians generally. What he appears to fail to understand is that it is not the careful recording of "facts" that constitutes history, but the "interpretation" of these raw materials.

Like all historians Luke had a "purpose" in writing both his Gospel and Acts. The foregoing discussion reveals that present-day critics are not agreed as to what that purpose was. Furthermore, they appear to misunderstand the modern attitude which regards the author's purpose as his distinct contribution as an historian. Indeed, it is doubtful if there could be any history worthy of the name apart from the author's interpretation of his "facts" conditioned by his "purpose". Many suggestions have been made concerning Luke's "purpose" and they may be classified under the following headings although this analysis by no means exhausts the subject.

Analysis of Luke's Purpose

- (1) To show Christianity as the continuing ministry of the Risen Christ.
- (2) To show Paul as one of the spiritual giants of the Early Church.
- (3) To tell the story of the expansion of Christianity westwards to Rome.
- (4) To defend Christianity against the accusations of its opponents.
- (5) To commend Christianity to the Roman government.
- (6) To provide a text-book for the instruction of Church members and catechumens.
- (7) To present in a narrative form the Christian kerygma.
- (8) To demonstrate the Gospel of the Holy Spirit in the lives of men.
- (9) To show not so much history as Heilsgeschichte.
- (10) To explain the delay of the Parousia.

None of these answers alone provides an adequate reply to the question: What was Luke's purpose in writing Acts? Probably there is some truth in all of them. Perhaps the answer is not to be sought in any one theory of "purpose" but rather in a combination which includes one or more of them. There is truth in all these answers and at one time or another in the history of the interpretation of Acts they have held the field as being the most fashionable. One cannot help but feel that modern critics are more conscious of Luke's "purpose" than he was himself! Undoubtedly he was motivated to follow certain lines in the writing of his book (he

tells us as much in the Prologue to the two-volume work) but that he did not stick to one line throughout many critics are unwilling to admit. It is tempting to find one particular motive and then proceed from it to build up a case for interpreting all of Luke's work. The best example of this kind of error was seen in the Tübingen school where Baur and his followers interpreted Acts in the light of the Hegelian triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. According to this theory the "thesis" was represented by James (the "Hebrews") who dominated the Jerusalem Church; the antithesis was represented by Paul (the "Hellenists") whose headquarters were in Antioch; and the "synthesis" was effected by Peter who mediated between these two extremes. The supposition that the "tendency" in Luke was to obscure a conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles by rewriting his "sources" cannot be supported by the evidence of Paul's letters. Paul declares the Jerusalem authorities to be in essential agreement with his doctrine (Gal. 2:9). The conflict arose not with the Jerusalem Apostles but with the "false brethren" (ψευδοδιδασκαλούς) who were insisting that the Gentile converts must first be circumcised and obey the Law of Moses.¹

Evaluation of Luke as an Historian

The current vogue among New Testament scholars is to abandon all attempts at "source criticism" and see Luke as an author handling some literary material but being himself responsible for collecting and digesting it and setting out information drawn from traditional sources in the

¹ See A. Deissmann, Paul, New York: Harper & Brothers, (Harper Torchbooks), 1957, p. 26; also J. Munck, Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, chap. III.

light of his purpose.¹ Nearly all modern critics find themselves working along these lines. But where many present-day New Testament scholars seem to be lagging behind their Old Testament colleagues² is in their failure to understand what constitutes good historical writing by modern canons. At this juncture we must distinguish the general question: Was Luke an historian in the modern (or any other) sense? from the more particular question: How did he treat his sources? i.e. Was he accurate in his dating and ordering of events?

Was Luke an Historian in the Modern Sense?

Speaking generally Luke's method of handling his "sources" was not at all unlike those of the modern historiographer. This modern mood has been well expressed by S. B. Frost: "The conclusion then, of the best scholarship of our times is that any particular reading of history is a significance imposed upon a selected and often manipulated sequence of events."³ Luke's significance as an historian when viewed in the light of this statement may be more important than many New Testament critics believe. As stated above Luke is being misunderstood by many scholars. This is partially due to the fact that they are not primarily historians: they are linguists, literary analysts, and dogmaticians. For them his

¹ E.g. See C. K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, p. 51.

² E.g. N. W. Porteous, W. Robinson, W. Eichrodt, G. E. Wright, G. von Rad, O. G. Baab, G. A. F. Knight, L. Köhler, and many others. The reader is referred to the article by N. W. Porteous, "The Theology of the Old Testament" in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, (1962), pp. 151-159.

³ S. B. Frost, "The Theologian and the World of Contemporary Thought", Theological Education, I, (1964), p. 8.

significance seems to be dependent on discovering his "purpose". On the one hand if they are inclined to believe that his "purpose" was primarily theological then they seem to regard him unfavourably as an historian. On the other hand, if they see Luke's "purpose" as apologetic they tend to view him more favourably as an historian. But for the most of them, whatever "purpose" they adopt, their understanding of history seems to be outdated. On this question we could do no better than to quote the words of C. K. Barrett who more than any other contemporary English writer has sought an answer to this question and seems to be aware of what has taken place in other fields of historical enquiry. "For Luke," he says, "the stress lies on the fact that the last chapter is a new chapter. Christ is the End: but (and this is how Luke prefers to think of Him) because he is the End He is also the Beginning. He is not the close of all history, but the starting point of a new kind of history, Church History, whose horizons are indefinitely remote. This is what Luke perceived, and this is what gives him his unique place in the New Testament. He is the Father of Church History: it had not occurred to any Christian before him that there was any such thing."¹ As the Father of Church History Luke's purpose was to commend Christianity to the pagan world and in order to do this we submit that he wrote his second volume as well as his first with more than one purpose in mind, using "sources" which he recast in his own literary style and in so doing is not so far removed from the methods of modern historians as some might think.

The reason why so many contemporary New Testament scholars fail

¹ C. K. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 57ff.

to take a serious view of Luke as an historian is due to the fact that they have not yet realized that historians in other fields have moved away from the position which regards history as a mere record of the "facts". This failure has been noted in the evaluation of Luke as an historian by the critics cited above. The modern historian is concerned with the question of how these facts, out of the myriad facts that were available, survived to become the facts of history.¹

We cannot claim from this brief survey to have answered the question of Luke's value as an historian. It is far too involved and complex a question for any superficial analysis such as has been presented here. These observations, however, do justify us, we believe, in concluding that Luke was a conscientious historian whose integrity is not called in question. In the Prologue (Luke 1:1-4) of his two-volumed work he claims to have made a careful use of the traditions handed down to him as well as eyewitness accounts. He himself has been conducting a thorough and detailed research into the events that happened among them and has decided to write a connected narrative...so as to give... "authentic knowledge about the matters of which you have been informed". (NEB) This statement of Luke's methods might have been written in the twentieth century. A modern historian sees his task as follows:

"The historian starts with a provisional selection of facts and a provisional interpretation in the light of which that selection has been made - by others as well as by himself. As he works, both the interpretation and the selection and ordering of facts undergo subtle and perhaps partly unconscious changes through the reciprocal action of one or the other. And this

¹ S. Frost, op. cit., p. 7.

reciprocal action also involves reciprocity between present and past, since the historian is part of the present and the facts belong to the past. The historian and the facts of history are necessary to one another. The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless."¹

G. B. Caird believes that "Luke has made good his claim to be a trustworthy historian," but goes on to add, "provided that we do not make the blunder of judging him by the canons of modern, scientific historiography."² It is just such a blunder, against which Caird warns, that we seem to be making. But is Luke's writing so far removed from the canons of modern historiography? If the argument that we have been pursuing is correct then it may not be. Granted Luke is a child of his age and conditioned by the historical methods of his contemporaries nevertheless he is more than a "scissors-and-paste" compiler of facts. To this statement Haenchen, Conzelmann and others would agree. But where we differ from them is that we go on to state that while he exercised freedom over his "facts" this does not make him valueless historically. Caution however must be expressed that we do not thereby view Luke's writings as simply the product of his fertile imagination.³ R. Collingwood comes perilously near to viewing history as something spun out of the human brain⁴ in his

¹ E. H. Carr, What is History? (The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures - 1961), London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961, p. 24.

² G. B. Caird, Saint Luke, (The Pelican Gospel Commentary), Penguin Books, 1963, p. 28.

³ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 30.

⁴ E. H. Carr, op. cit., pp. 20ff. This may be an unfair criticism of Collingwood's position.

reaction against the "facts of history" school. Luke's methods like those of the historian cited above are an interaction between his facts and himself. When we compare Luke's methods with those of the historians today they are startlingly similar. This leads to the conclusion that judged not only by the canons of ancient historiography but to some extent by those of modern historiography as well, Luke is an historian of the first rank.

History has long been recognized as more than the mere chronicling of events. The modern historian recognizes that history reflects the imprint of the man who writes it but this does not make it any the less valuable as history. The American historian Carl Becker said that "the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he creates them and into every fact that he creates some part of his individual experience must enter".¹ We may not wish to go quite that far in our view of history. Objectivity in writing history cannot be ruled out entirely. E. H. Carr has stated the viewpoint of today's historian: "In the first place the facts of history never come to us 'pure', since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder. It follows that when we take up a work of history, our first concern should be not with the facts which it contains but with the historian who wrote it."² Today's historian has moved beyond Ludwig von Ranke's approach to history as an attempt "simply to show how it really

¹ C. Becker, "Detachment and the Writing of History", Atlantic Monthly, CVI, (Oct.), 1910, p. 528.

² E. H. Carr, op. cit., p. 16.

was" (wie es eigentlich gewesen). Historians now realize that this was the pursuit of a mirage. The failure of many present-day New Testament scholars is not a failure to determine Luke's "purpose" but a failure to see that Luke in employing this "purpose" in the handling of his "sources" is not thereby devaluing himself as an historian. Alan Richardson says of them: "They do not understand the New Testament historically, that is, as a 'new history', a reinterpretation of the existence and faith of Israel in the light of a new historical situation brought about by the coming of Jesus and his Church."¹ He goes on to state that "only after several decades had gone by could the intention and work of Jesus be adequately assessed 'in the perspective of history'. This is precisely what St. Luke is doing, and his writing deserves to be called 'history' in the full and proper sense of the word".² One who certainly cannot be regarded as prejudiced in favour of a verdict supporting Luke's value as an historian (although as we have noted it is probably his failure to understand the modern viewpoint which leads to his unfavourable verdict) that is, Ernst Haenchen, has written that in spite of his artistry (Kunst) Luke is no mere novelist but an historian.³

How Did Luke Treat His Sources?

Luke was an author and theologian in his own right and we must

¹ A. Richardson, History, Sacred and Profane, (Bampton Lectures for 1962), London: S.C.M. Press, 1964.

² Ibid., p. 238.

³ "Aber Lukas ist, trotz seiner nicht geringen Erzählungskunst, kein Romanautor, sondern ein Historiker." - "Das 'Wir' in der Apostelgeschichte und das Itinerär", Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LVIII, (1961), p. 366.

understand him as an historian dealing with "wholes" and not a mere compiler of "sources".¹ While it is true that he was able to employ his "sources" more freely in Acts because he was not so closely controlled by them, nevertheless, his method of composition in both books may have been much the same. The low regard with which many contemporary critics hold Luke is partly due to their view that he did not employ "sources" and therefore he was free to interpret "legends" as he pleased. But is such the case? We think that Luke did use "sources" and that he used them carefully (or "accurately" - ἀκριβῶς) as he himself says although this use was guided by his overall purpose - the "whole" as A. M. Farrer calls it. The selection of incidents and the skilful manner in which Luke employed his "sources" mark him as a good historian. Harnack has justly drawn our attention to "the enormous bulk of unwieldy chaotic material that lay before him".² The fact that Luke did not have Paul's letters as a "source" (which seems most probable) and yet is in essential agreement with them is a further indication of his veracity. Wherever we can check Luke in matters of history or geography he is astonishingly accurate, e.g. his precise use of the correct titles for various officials in many parts of the Roman Empire indicates a local acquaintance with the area and is confirmed by inscriptions, as Ramsay has said: "The officials with whom Paul and his companions were brought into contact are those who

¹ A. M. Farrer, A Study in St. Mark, London: Dacre Press, A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1951, p. 22 writes: "Form criticism is concerned with small patterns, the patterns of the parts; we are concerned with a large pattern, the pattern of the whole."

² A. von Harnack, New Testament Studies, III, The Acts of the Apostles, London: Williams & Norgate, 1909, p. xv.

would be there. Every person is found just where he ought to be: proconsuls in senatorial provinces, asiarchs in Ephesus, strategoi in Philippi, politarchs in Thessalonica, magicians and soothsayers everywhere."¹ This proves, says F. F. Bruce, that "if his trustworthiness is vindicated in points where he can be checked, we should not assume that he is less trustworthy where we cannot test his accuracy".² When Paul is shipwrecked on Malta he encounters Publius the "first man" of the island (ὁ πρῶτος τῆς νήσου) a title which is not found in extant literature but has been found in both Greek and Latin inscriptions uncovered on Malta. Luke's knowledge of rulers who held office during Paul's ministry is accurate, e.g. Herod Agrippa I, Claudius, Herod Agrippa II, Felix and Festus. His reference in Acts 24:26 to Felix's hope that Paul would bribe him is, says W. D. Davies "quite in character with what Roman historians write about Felix". Luke also shows an accurate knowledge of local geography for such places as Lystra, Neapolis, Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, Corinth, Athens, and Ephesus. More recent archaeological evidence has also tended to confirm Luke's accuracy, e.g. the platform (βῆμα) where Paul was brought before Gallio (Acts 18:12) has been excavated.⁴ Also a paving stone uncovered in the theatre at Corinth bears an inscription saying that Erastus

¹ W. M. Ramsay, The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915, pp. 96-97.

² F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, London: The Tyndale Press, 1951, p. 17.

³ W. D. Davies, "The Apostolic Age and the Life of Paul", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, (1962), p. 876.

⁴ O. Broneer, "Corinth. Center of St. Paul's Missionary Work in Greece", The Biblical Archaeologist, XIV, (1951), pp. 78-96.

in return for his aedileship (commissioner of Public Works), laid this pavement at his own expense.¹ Is this the same Erastus referred to by Paul (Rom. 16:23; 2 Tim. 4:20) and Luke (Acts 19:22)? H. J. Cadbury thinks that it is not, whereas P. N. Harrison thinks that it is.² Meanwhile the debate continues over the meaning of the words of the inscription:

ERASTVS. PRO. AED.
S.P. STRAVIT

Basic facts, such as these, which can be checked by the "auxiliary sciences" of archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, chronology and so forth, are part of the historian's raw material but not of history itself. In writing of the historian and his "facts" E. H. Carr says: "To praise a historian for his accuracy is like praising an architect for using well seasoned timber or properly mixed concrete in his building. It is a necessary condition of his work, but not his essential function."³

Luke appears to have gone over his "sources" carefully and to have rewritten some of them in order to give a pleasing and unifying impression to his readers. The fact that he did this so artistically makes it difficult for the critic to analyse his underlying materials. Moreover, he seems to have followed the same practice as he did in his Gospel of employing his material in large "blocks" (see p. 84) and completing one

¹ H. J. Cadbury, "Erastus of Corinth", Journal of Biblical Literature, I, (1931), pp. 42-58.

² P. N. Harrison, Paulines and Pastorals, London: Villiers Publications, 1964, pp. 100-105. A photograph of the Erastus Pavement appears on the frontpiece.

³ E. H. Carr, What is History? London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1961, p. 5.

block or panel of material before going on to the next. This peculiarity of Luke's method of composition has sometimes played havoc with his chronology, e.g. Paul's visits to Jerusalem and the Famine Relief Fund (see p. 85). As regards dates too he sometimes appears to have been at fault, e.g. Theudas and Judas (see p. 76). We conclude that Luke was a good historian in some senses without being as careful as a modern historian would be about getting the sequence of events correct. We must remember of course that Luke had vastly less information about the earliest days of the Church and Paul's early years than he did about the latter half of his narrative when he himself appears to have entered the picture. And of course he did not have access to all the accurate information that a modern historian would have when writing about, say, Suez or Cuba.

SUMMARY

We have now reached the place where we can set down some provisional conclusions which have been reached in this chapter. First, there is the question of the date of Acts, which as we have seen is closely related to the second question, i.e. concerning authorship. While it is admittedly not possible to arrive at definite conclusions it seems to us, after reviewing the evidence, that the verdict must be given in favour of those who subscribe to a date somewhere between the years A.D. 80 to 95 and that the author was probably Luke, the beloved physician (Col. 4:14) who accompanied Paul on some of his journeys. Luke's worth as an historian has been largely discredited because his primary purpose seems to be theological rather than historical. It is our contention, however, that Luke's value as an historian has been underestimated because of a

misunderstanding of the modern interpretation of history. History is not mere chronicle and the historian must rewrite and interpret his facts in the light of subsequent events and his own day. This is what Luke has done. In spite of this it must be admitted that Luke may have been a good historian (even in the modern sense) and at the same time have been inaccurate on details of chronology. Now that we have reviewed the broader aspects of the question we are in a position to consider in some detail the chronological notices as they appear in the Epistles and the Acts. Our purpose shall be to see how far they will support the basic if somewhat tentative conclusions which have been reached concerning the larger question, i.e. whether Acts can with any assurance be used as a source for Paul's chronology. It is to that question that we now turn our attention.

CHAPTER IV

KNOX'S THEORY

Synopsis

Luke uses his material more freely in Acts in two ways:

- (1) The teaching of the Apostle (speeches).
- (2) The order of his material. Here he exercised his freedom in three ways:
 - (i) emphasis on Jerusalem.
 - (ii) ruling of the Twelve.
 - (iii) political innocuousness of the new faith.

Luke alters the conventional picture of Paul in three areas:

- (i) Gamaliel.
- (ii) Locus of Paul's preaching.
- (iii) Three missionary journeys.

Knox thinks his proposal is an improvement in three ways:

- (1) Better correspondence between Jerusalem visits.
- (2) Eliminates "silent years".
- (3) More rational reconstruction of Paul's relations with Judaizers. Knox admits the main objection is "Gallio Inscription". Attempts to resolve the difficulty by saying Luke is mistaken about Paul's appearance before Gallio or has misplaced it.

Examination of Knox's theory.

- (1) Speeches are outlines of kerygma. Classical historians wrote better history than is sometimes supposed.
- (2) With some exceptions Luke uses his material in the order in which he found it. Knox's contention that Luke exercises freedom over his material in three ways is not so serious as it would appear.

Summary.

CHAPTER IV

KNOX'S THEORY

The most exciting recent contribution to Pauline chronology is that put forward by the American New Testament scholar John Knox. In his attempt to break new ground in this thorny field he makes some radical recommendations. This chapter will be devoted entirely to a preliminary look at Knox's theory in its overall character and aim taken on its own grounds, underlining the nature of its main contentions and findings, and its challenge to modern conclusions. No attempt, however, will be made to examine it in detail.

Knox contends that Acts cannot be accepted as a simple narrative of facts in their chronological order. He compares Luke's use of his sources in his Gospel with that in Acts and finds evidence that in the latter he is in a position to use his material more freely. Knox contends that the evangelist did this in two ways,¹ (1) by his handling of the teaching of the Apostle - the Paul of Acts does not write letters; he makes speeches. These speeches Knox believes are largely if not entirely the composition of Luke. This Knox finds to be in line with the practice of historians of the time - such as Thucydides, Livy, and Caesar - who put speeches into the mouths of their heroes. Therefore Knox concludes that we cannot use any of the words in the speeches of Paul found in Acts in

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 23ff.

reconstructing his chronology. This can be proved by comparing them with Paul's own letters which Knox contends constitute our only reliable source for the Pauline chronology: (2) by the order in which Luke placed his materials. Knox does not deny that Luke has some first class materials but he contends that in writing Acts "he had fuller control of the arrangement of his materials and was in large part responsible for it".¹ With regard to the career of Paul Knox lists three ways in which Luke exercised this freedom over his material:

(1) by the emphasis which he gave to Jerusalem in the story of the beginnings of the Church;

(2) by the impression which he creates of the Twelve ruling the entire Christian Church;

(3) by the emphasis which he places on the political innocuousness of the new movement.

All this adds up, so far as Knox is concerned, to proof that the Paul of Acts is quite a different person from the Paul of the Letters. Knox's "principle of criticism" is that we may with caution use Acts as supplementary material in constructing our chronology of Paul but may never correct the autobiographical material to be found in the letters with evidence from the Acts. The letters alone constitute our primary source for Paul's chronology.

When he applies this principle of criticism to the "conventional picture" of Paul's career as we know it from the Acts some startling changes emerge. The first is that the evidence in the letters does not

¹ Ibid., p. 24.

confirm the statement of Acts that Paul was a student of Gamaliel. This, claims Knox, was merely a device of Luke's to show Christianity as the fulfilment of Judaism. Otherwise, if Paul really had sat at the feet of this renowned scholar then why did he not use this fact to strengthen his arguments in Galatians 1:14?

The second way in which the Acts story conflicts with that of Paul's letters is in the place of Paul's activity both before and after his conversion. The Acts account pictures Paul's activity as centering in Jerusalem. He leaves Jerusalem for Damascus intent upon arresting the Christians there and bringing them bound to Jerusalem. This is a flat contradiction of Paul's own statement in Galatians 1:21-23 - "Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was unknown by face unto the churches of Judaea which were in Christ; but they had heard only, that he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed." "The Acts story," says Knox, "hangs together; but it simply does not hang together with Paul's own statement, and no amount of ingenuity can remove the egregious contradictions."¹ Paul swears under oath that following his conversion he "did not confer with flesh and blood" (Gal. 1:16). Acts contradicts this and says that he conferred with Ananias and other disciples at Damascus. Furthermore, Paul says that he did not go up to Jerusalem to them who were apostles before him but that he went into Arabia. Acts, on the other hand, says that he went to Jerusalem (Acts 9:26). Two utterly different accounts of Paul's activities emerge when we compare Acts 9 and Gal. 1. Knox concludes that the Acts

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 37.

story is impossible and was fabricated by Luke to account for the conversion of a Jerusalemite Jew in Damascus.

The third way in which Knox sees the Acts account of Paul's career conflicting with that of Paul's own statements is in the representation of Paul's career as "consisting of" or "revolving around" three great missionary journeys. The letters give no support whatever for such a picture of Paul's chronology. The reader of Acts visualises Paul as having his headquarters at Antioch and Jerusalem and using these cities as a base for his three missionary operations. The letters give us the opposite impression, namely, that Paul is based in his operational field from which he sets out to visit Antioch and Jerusalem with no suggestion of three missionary journeys at all.

Knox says that the conventional Pauline chronology is determined by harmonizing Paul's intervals with Luke's incidents. It is this "conventional chronology" that is under criticism. If we had only the letters of Paul then something like the following chronology would emerge:

- I. Conversion in or near Damascus A.D. 37.
- II. First visit to Jerusalem
("after three years") A.D. 40.
- III. Eleven years or more, presumably
passed in evangelistic activity
in Syria, Cilicia and Achaia A.D. 40-51.
- IV. Second visit to Jerusalem
("fourteen years after") A.D. 51.
- V. Activity in Churches of Galatia,
Asia, Macedonia, and Greece especially in connection with the
Fund for the poor at Jerusalem A.D. 51-52.
- VI. Final visit to Jerusalem to deliver the offering A.D. 53.

Using the evidence of the Letters as his primary source Knox attempts to harmonize the chronology of Paul's career in Acts with it. He finds the key to the study of Paul's chronology in the time of the "Conference" visit to Jerusalem. This Knox thinks is the crux interpretum in the understanding of Paul's chronology. He identifies the conference which Luke describes in Acts 15:1-29 with that which Paul mentions in Gal. 2:1-10 but admits that the identification of Acts 11:29-30; 12-25 with that of Gal. 2:1-10 should not be dismissed too lightly. The only reason he sees for this latter identification is the mention of Barnabas in both accounts and had it not been for the exigencies of the "conventional chronology" he doubts that anyone would ever have made this identification. Although he agrees that Luke is writing about the same conference that Paul describes in Gal. 2:1-10 he thinks that Luke has placed it too early in Paul's career.¹ He proposes a revision of Acts so that the conference is placed in Acts 18 instead of Acts 15. This would eliminate the major discrepancy between the letters and Acts.

Knox claims that his proposed chronology is an improvement on the "conventional chronology" in three ways:

(1) It makes possible a better correspondence between the visits to Jerusalem in Acts and the three mentioned by Paul following his conversion. Since Paul mentions only three visits there can have been only three. And

¹ Scholars have previously suggested that Luke has misplaced the Conference Visit. C. von Weizsäcker, The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, (trans. by J. Miller), London: William & Norgate, 1894-5, I, pp. 109 and 247 believes that Luke placed the Conference visit where he did on "pragmatic grounds". Cf. A. Menzies, "The Acts of the Apostles", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, Ltd., London & Edinburgh: 1926, p. 794a; G. W. H. Lampe, "Acts", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1962, p. 907.

these three can be identified with the three mentioned in Acts and classified as "acquaintance", "conference", "offering". Luke however, has modified their chronological position to suit his own purpose.

(2) Knox claims that his scheme eliminates the "silent" years of Paul's career which makes it possible to have a more even distribution of the Apostle's activities. According to Knox it is no longer necessary to crowd Paul's activity into a period which he considers too short for it.

(3) The new chronology has the advantage of making a more rational reconstruction of Paul's relations with the Judaizers. According to the "conventional chronology" this issue reaches a crisis on three occasions - near the beginning of Paul's career, about the middle at the time of the "council" of Acts 15 and at the end of his activity when he took the offering to Jerusalem. Knox's scheme brings this conflict to a climax at a time when Paul's letters reflect it at the close of his career and before his final arrest in Jerusalem. Knox admits that the main objection to his proposed chronology is the evidence of the Gallio inscription. If Gallio was proconsul of Achaia in A.D. 51 or 52 as most scholars believe then this is incompatible with his proposed scheme which has Paul in Corinth not later than A.D. 45 and possibly several years earlier. Knox proposes to resolve this difficulty as follows:

(1) He suggests that Luke may have been mistaken about Paul appearing before Gallio. In order to support his argument here he cites what appear to be mistaken references which Luke has made elsewhere in the Gospel and Acts. There is the reference which he made in his Gospel (Luke 2:2) to Jesus' birth in the time of Quirinius' census although this registration is almost certain to have taken place a decade after Herod's

death. In Acts 5:33-37 Gamaliel makes a speech in which he mentions two rebels Judas and Theudas, although the latter arose some years later than this.¹ Again in Acts 11:28 Luke makes reference to Claudius which Knox believes is in exactly the same category as the reference to Quirinius in Luke 2:2. These errors in chronology according to Knox are in keeping with Luke's interest in which he seeks to correlate church activities with secular events.

(ii) Knox thinks that if Luke is correct in saying that Paul appeared before Gallio then he is mistaken in placing this incident during the time of Paul's first residence in Corinth. Knox reckons that Paul was in Corinth in A.D. 53 (Romans 15:22 = Acts 20:3) and Luke informs us that he left the city earlier than he had intended because of a "plot of the Jews". Knox suggests that it may have been toward the end of this last visit to Corinth that the appearance before Gallio occurred.

To those who have been unacquainted with Knox's proposals for a reconstruction of Pauline chronology or who are satisfied that Acts is a better source than the Epistles the foregoing arguments may appear untenable. But they are not without merit. Knox, we believe, is quite right in emphasizing the importance of the Epistles as the primary source for any study of Pauline chronology except where the author of Acts is writing as an eye-witness or using a source which came from an eye-witness. The other arguments which have been presented here will be examined in

¹ According to Josephus *Ant.* XX.5.1 Theudas was executed at the time of Cuspius Fadus (C. 44-46). Judas led a revolt in A.D. 6-8. In Luke's account it appears that Theudas led a revolt at an earlier date than Judas. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, "Acts", *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (1962), p. 893. E. Haenchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 211ff.

detail as they arise. Knox's thesis is valuable even if it has done nothing more than provoke a fresh investigation of Pauline chronology about which Lightfoot more than a generation ago thought nothing more could be said.

Now that we have outlined Knox's main arguments let us examine them to see if they will stand up to the claims which he makes for them. We shall first deal with (see p. 70) his contention that Paul's "speeches are largely, if not entirely, the composition of the author".¹ (pp. 77-83) Then we shall turn to the question of the order (see p. 70) in which Luke placed his materials (pp. 82-88). Finally we shall deal with the three ways (see p. 71) in which Knox thinks Luke was "free to draw more largely upon his own imagination"² and "had fuller control of the arrangement of his materials and was in large part responsible for it".³ (pp. 88-93)

I. It is one thing to say that the speeches which classical historians put into the mouths of their heroes are not intended to be

¹ J. Knox, op. cit., p. 23. Knox is restating the opinion of other scholars, e.g. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931, p. 41, thinks that the speeches in Acts may be "based upon traditions of speeches...actually delivered, but in the form in which we have them they doubtless belong to the author of Acts and are adapted to his representation of the facts". M. S. Enslin, Christian Beginnings, New York: Harper, 1938, p. 402 says that "no classical student will need to be warned that the speeches in the book of Acts are the full composition of the author, precisely as those of Josephus, Philo, Thucydides or Livy". Cf. F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, London: Tyndale Press, 1951, p. 18ff; W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 17; M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, pp. 138ff.; E. Schweizer, "Zu den Reden der Apostelgeschichte", Theologische Zeitschrift, XIII, (1957), pp. 1-11; E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, pp. 506ff., 510ff., 579ff., 604ff.

² J. Knox, op. cit., p. 24.

³ J. Knox, Ibid., p. 24.

verbatim reports, in the sense in which we are accustomed to read the account of a speech by the Prime Minister in the morning newspapers.¹ It is quite another thing to assume that the "speeches" in Acts are in the same category as the speeches of Thucydides, Livy and Caesar, as Knox does. Even if these "speeches" were composed by Luke this does not mean that they are unhistorical. They cannot be as accurate as tape-recordings but may still correctly represent the occasion. Van Unnik says: "Indeed it can be said in general that the present assessment of the trustworthiness of Luke as a writer of history is high. It cannot be deduced from the mere fact that, like ancient historiographers generally, he puts into the mouths of his characters speeches which they are thought to have delivered on certain occasions, that in matters of fact the content of these speeches has been invented. Some time ago H. Bolkstein pointed out that Livy's account of the Bacchanalia in Rome 'is altogether correct and trustworthy so far as matters of fact are concerned, and that he has also reproduced with excellent judgment the purport of the measures that were taken', as is apparent from an inscription that has been recovered (H. Bolkstein, 'De houding van den Romeinschen staat tegenover nieuwe en uitheemsche in den tijd der Republiek', in Mededeelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Literature Section, New Series, Pt. IV. 2,

¹ H. J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, V, p. 407 says: "One thing at least cannot be denied the ultimate author of Acts...and that is the language and style in which the speeches are written...it is obvious to any attentive reader of the Greek text of the Lucan writings... Even those persons who incline to consider the speeches in Acts close approximations to addresses actually given by Peter, Stephen and Paul, will probably admit that the voice is the voice of Luke."

Amsterdam, 1941, 22).¹ When we examine these "speeches" carefully we discover that Livy's account is in general trustworthy. The same may also be said of the "speeches" in Thucydides.² Luke then by following the methods of the classical historians was not writing fiction as is so often supposed but was faithfully reporting what was told to him or what he had actually heard and not what Knox contends was the imaginative composition of the author.

Another problem which arises in connection with the "speeches" in Acts is that of "sources". Luke may not have had as much freedom in the composition of these "speeches" as Knox proposes. It has long been recognized that these "speeches" reveal an underlying Semitic or Septuagintal influence,³ as well as reflecting the structure of the primitive kerygma. What Luke probably did was to rewrite the "sources" (written or oral) which came down to him. What then do these "speeches" represent?

C. H. Dodd⁴ has clearly demonstrated that these "speeches" in Acts are outlines of the primitive kerygma. The frequent use of Old Testament quotations in these "speeches" indicates the writer's use of an early collection of testimonia or proof texts. The idea that such a collection probably existed was first brought to the attention of scholars by Rendel

¹ W. C. van Unnik, Tarsus or Jerusalem, (trans. by G. Ogg), London: Epworth Press, 1962, p. 53.

² See T. F. Glasson, "The Speeches in Acts and Thucydides", Expository Times, LXXVI, No. 5, (1965), p. 165.

³ See the discussion of this whole question in the previous chapter.

⁴ C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936, pp. 1-73; According to the Scriptures, London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1953.

Harris who put forward the theory that the Early Church made frequent use of these texts chosen at random from the Old Testament.¹ Recently C. H. Dodd has revised this theory by showing that these proof-texts were not chosen at random as Rendel Harris supposed but by a careful method of selection. This method was based on the threefold drama of redemption - God's intervention in history; God's judgment on Israel's sins and God's vindication of His righteous Servant.² The pioneers in the Early Church found the proof for this interpretation of history in the scriptures of the Old Testament. This does not mean that Luke did not write these "speeches"; he probably did, but it means that he wrote or rewrote them along the lines of the Apostolic preaching. The fact that these "speeches" are reported so often in Acts in very much the same language shows how anxious Luke was to get across the message that this was the way in which

¹ Although, as stated above, Rendel Harris' theory does not square with the facts as revised by C. H. Dodd, his opinion on the distribution of the testimonia remains valid: "It will be observed that these instances which we have been studying are taken from speeches, of Paul and the other Apostles, and that there is nothing of the kind in Luke's ordinary narration. He, at all events, does not turn aside to tell us that 'Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet'. If Luke does not use the method of Testimonies on his own account, he is quite clear that it was the Apostolic method. It was either what they actually said or what they ought to have said. But if we concede that the Testimony Book was behind Luke, the historian of Acts, it seems absurd to deny that it was behind the speakers with whom he had intercourse and whom he professed to report. The natural consequence is that we have a report of speeches which cannot be far from their actual utterance." (J. R. Harris, Testimonies, Cambridge: University Press, II, 1916, p. 80). A Dead Sea Script called 4 Q Testimonia has been published by J. M. Allegro in the Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXV (1956), 174-187 and partially supports Harris' thesis. Cf. B. Lindars, "Second Thoughts: IV Books of Testimonies", Expository Times, LXXV, (1964), 173-175; M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, p. 182.

² This is a simplification of Dodd's analysis. According to the Scriptures.⁷³

Peter and Paul and the others preached.¹ C. K. Barrett says: "Even if every speech or sermon were a literally accurate account of what was said on each occasion it would not be necessary for the historian so to repeat himself, unless he wished to hammer home the truth: this is how Peter preached; this is how Paul preached; this is how Christians ought always to preach."² A difficulty which must be faced is that Paul's preaching (e.g. Acts 13:16-41) seems rather much conformed to the Petrine model (e.g. Acts 3:12-26) and not very much like his Epistles (except the reference in Acts 13:39 to "justification"). This standardization can be explained on the grounds that Luke was not present on the occasion and his "sources" were patterned on the primitive kerygma. M. Wilcox has made a careful study of this 'kerygmatic' material and is of the opinion that because the speeches contain so little semitized material they probably represent not so much the primitive preaching of the apostles (as Dodd believes) but rather "a traditional liturgical or apologetical summary of the cardinal elements of the Gospel".³ He is therefore closer to the view of Rendel Harris and thinks that the material here is probably parallel to the Qumran Testimonia-fragment (4 Q Testimonia).

It must be admitted that not all critics would agree with Dodd's

¹ See the article by E. Schweizer, "Zu den Reden der Apostelgeschichte", Theologische Zeitschrift, XIII, (1957), pp. 1-11 in which the author argues that the "speeches" in Acts represent the Christology of the early church and not Luke's imaginative compositions. Cf. M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, pp. 161-164. Wilcox finds evidence for 'kerygmatic' and 'credal' elements in the speeches.

² C. K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, London: Epworth Press, 1961, p. 69.

³ M. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 182.

analysis of the "speeches" in Acts. Many present-day scholars¹ find the key to the substance of the "speeches" in Luke's "purpose" which we discussed in the previous chapter. Luke they would concede may have had some basic "sources" for the "speeches" but he rewrote them in accordance with his "purpose" and therefore they cannot be regarded as historical. We have concluded elsewhere (p. 63) that Luke was a good historian and that he regarded his purpose as an attempt to commend the new faith to the pagan world. Within the limitations of his own purpose he may well have rewritten the "speeches" and in so doing he probably faithfully represented what the speakers actually said. If these "speeches" are not unlike those of other classical historians it does not necessarily follow that they are totally fictitious. Actually these "speeches" have very little bearing on Pauline chronology and the whole question might have been left out of our discussion but for the fact that Knox uses Luke's methods of handling the "speeches" to devalue Acts as a source for reconstructing the life of Paul.

II. The second way in which John Knox believes the writer of Acts to have acted independently of his "sources" is in the order in which he presents his material. He believes that Luke is using material of high historical value but that he has arranged and classified it to suit his own purposes. Knox finds an example of this in Luke's placement of the Famine Visit in Acts 11:27-30 which he thinks should come

¹ This would be the position taken by Dibelius, Conzelmann, Haenchen, Wilckens, Dupont, and others. e.g. cf. J. Dupont, "Les Discours missionnaires des Actes des Apôtres d'après un ouvrage récent", *Revue Biblique*, LXIX, (1, 1962), 37-70.

after and not before the Apostolic Conference of Acts 15:1-29. Luke's purpose, according to Knox and other American scholars¹ who have followed his lead, is not primarily chronological but apologetic. These critics would agree that Luke is consistent with his own purpose but not sensitive to chronological demands.

Like all historians Luke had to make a selective use of the sources at his disposal. But unlike present-day historians whose works often run through many volumes Luke was probably restricted to one papyrus roll or possibly one codex.² His selection of material is therefore all the more significant.³ We have concluded elsewhere (p. 56) that Luke had more than one purpose which governed the use of his "sources". On p. 56 of this thesis ten "purposes" are listed and we see no reason why Luke may not have had one or more of them in mind in the composition of his Gospel and Acts. Knox would agree wholeheartedly with this viewpoint and he would say that within the confines of this "purpose" or these "purposes" Luke arranged his material and it is this very point which casts

¹ D. W. Riddle, Paul, Man of Conflict (1940); P. S. Minear, "The Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology", Anglican Theological Review, XXV, (1943), pp. 389-396; D. F. Robinson, "A Note on Acts 11:27-30", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXIII, (1944), pp. 169-172; C. H. Buck, Jr., "The Date of Galatians", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXX, (1951), pp. 113-122; R. W. Funk, "The Enigma of the Famine Visit", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXV, (1956), pp. 130-136.

² See C. H. Roberts, "The Codex", reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy, XL, p. 190. Cf. also S. Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 76-77. Roberts points out that of all the 111 biblical manuscripts discovered in Egypt only 1 was written on a scroll and that was a copy of the Psalms.

³ Luke must have attached great importance to Paul's conversion because he relates it three times (Acts 9:1ff., 22:3ff., 26:9ff.). The story of Cornelius twice and parts of it more often (Acts 10:1ff., 11:4ff., 15:7ff.). The Decree of the Jerusalem Council is cited three times (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25). These repetitions are significant in view of Luke's restricted space.

doubt on its historical trustworthiness.

It has long been noted, though not by Knox, that within the self-imposed framework of his "purpose" Luke developed his narrative in blocks or panels. He followed somewhat the same method in writing his Gospel.¹ In the Acts he seems to have arranged these panels on a geographical basis preferring to complete a panel dealing with activities in one geographical area before moving on to another, e.g. in the second half of Acts (chaps. 16-28) the gospel is preached in Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Ephesus, and Rome. The same method is followed in his treatment of the characters in his book. He deals with his material about the heroes of the Early Church in blocks. This material has been classified as the "Acts" of Peter and John, Stephen, Philip, Barnabas and John Mark.

C. H. Turner² in his article on the "Chronology of the New Testament" in Hastings' A Dictionary of the Bible has pointed out that Acts falls into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress. C. J. Cadoux³ has carried Turner's thesis a step further and

¹ B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1926, pp. 202ff. Cf. H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, p. 12ff.

² C. H. Turner, "The Chronology of the New Testament", Hastings' A Dictionary of the Bible, I, New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1911, p. 421. Two more of these "panels" or "rubrics of progress" may be added to Turner's list, viz., Acts 2:47 and 11:21.

³ C. J. Cadoux, "The Chronological Divisions in Acts", Journal of Theological Studies, XIX, (1918), pp. 333-341; "A Tentative Synthetic Chronology of the Apostolic Age", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVI, (1937), pp. 177-191. Cf. B. W. Bacon, "The Chronological Scheme of Acts", Harvard Theological Review, XIV, (1921), pp. 137-166 who says that the "panels" marked 5-year intervals in Luke's mind. F. W. Beare, "The Sequence of Events in Acts 9-15 and the Career of Peter", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXII, (1943), pp. 295-306 underlines the lack of any sure chronological divisions as evidenced by Luke's use of such vague phrases as "in these days" and "about that time". The present writer would like to see this pursued in the light of the "Sabbath-Motif" in Luke-Acts.

suggested that these "rubrics of progress" can only be satisfactorily accounted for on the assumption that Luke intended them to mark exact chronological divisions. Cadoux found the key to the use of these "rubrics" in the occurrence of the Feast of Pentecost at five-year intervals. He worked out this ingenious theory in relation to Paul's chronology. The most significant point in Cadoux's theory, in our estimation, is his suggestion that "...the section Acts 11:25-30 needs to be read between 12:24 and 25", and that "Its closing verse (11:30) is to be chronologically linked, not with 12:1 but with 12:25. It is inserted where it is because the author, on landing Barnabas at Antioch, preferred to continue the series of Antiochene events - up to the point where it rejoined the Jerusalem series - before resuming the latter series in 12:1."¹

D. T. Rowlingson in an article in the Journal of Biblical Literature² has made a study of Luke's method of using his "sources" in the third Gospel. His purpose in making this investigation was: (1) to determine how far Luke's method of using Mark provides a clue to his method in the use of his "sources" in Acts; (2) to make a comparison of Luke's version of Jesus' Nazareth visit with Luke's version of the Jerusalem Conference in an attempt to see how far this comparison supports Knox's readjustment of the chronology of Acts with regard to the Jerusalem Conference. In this investigation, Rowlingson first makes a study of the

¹ C. J. Cadoux, op. cit., p. 183.

² D. T. Rowlingson, "The Jerusalem Conference and Jesus' Nazareth Visit", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXI, (1952), pp. 69-74.

methods which Luke used in composing his account of Jesus' Nazareth visit (Luke 4:16-30). He notes four things which Luke has done with his Marcan source--"First, he has omitted the visit at the point where it would naturally come, following Mark's order, (viz. after 8:56; cf. Mark 5:21 to 6:6), and he has inserted it in the Marcan framework immediately after the Temptation and the general statement of Jesus' preaching in Galilee (cf. Luke 4:12-15). The three additional things which he has done are to rewrite, supplement, and dramatise the Marcan story."¹ Rowlingson's conclusion here is of course based on the assumption that Luke's incident is a modification of the same piece of Marcan tradition, which is probably true.

Rowlingson next takes into account Luke's methods of treating Mark in general. He notes that Luke deals with Mark much more freely than Matthew but says that--"The point to be emphasised...is that in general he follows Mark's sequence of events, his additions to Mark being mostly insertions of blocks of material like the Infancy Narratives, the Sermon on the Plain, and the Central Section (9:51 to 18:14); his many omissions of Mark, especially of 6:45 to 8:26, do not alter this general impression."² Rowlingson's conclusion is that in general Luke depends upon Mark for his sequence of events and uses him faithfully--"That is, it is actually an obvious exception when he deals as radically with a Marcan story as he has with the Visit to Nazareth, combining at one and the same time a shift in chronology with a dramatic rewriting and

¹ Ibid., p. 69.

² Ibid., p. 70.

supplementation."¹ He assumes that the methods Luke used in writing his first volume serve as a guide for his methods in composing his second. "If anything," he says, "we may assume that he would have felt less restricted in writing Acts, due to the fact that the materials were probably less severely controlled by community opinion and pressure than was true of the Gospel tradition."²

The point which we have sought to establish here is not the chronology of the Famine Visit in Acts - that will be considered later under the Problem of the Visits to Jerusalem - but Luke's methods of composition in both his Gospel and Acts. If anything, he is less restricted by his sources in the composition of his second volume. In this respect we agree with the statement of Knox that--"When he wrote Acts, therefore, it is probable that he was more the author and less the compiler than when he wrote Luke; we may confidently believe that he had fuller control of the arrangement of his materials and was in large part responsible for it."³ On the whole Luke's narrative is orderly. In using his "sources" his general plan is to follow the chronology as he finds it. However, as has been noted above, his treatment of Jesus' Nazareth Visit and the Jerusalem Conference are notable exceptions. In view of his treatment of Mark 6:1-5 it can plausibly be argued that he could lift his information about the Jerusalem Council out of its correct chronological place. K. Lake has commented on the "patchiness" of Acts: "For the chronographer...

¹ Ibid., p. 70.

² Ibid., p. 71.

³ Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 24.

it is a warning that the shortness of the description of any given event is no certain criterion of its duration. If, for instance, it were not for the casual reference to 'three years' in XX.31, no one would have guessed from Acts that Paul had been so long in Ephesus."¹ The conclusion of this whole question is summed up in the words of R. W. Funk writing in the Journal of Biblical Literature in 1956--"Thus the book (Acts) as a whole and in its smaller units gives an orderly appearance, not, however, from the standpoint of chronology, though he does preserve chronology incidentally."² Moreover, what B. H. Streeter said of the Fourth Gospel might equally well be applied to Acts as it relates to Pauline chronology:

"Chronology is a very difficult art. Success in it depends, not only on the existence of abundant evidence, but also on complicated calculations, synchronisms, and inferences. In antiquity it was even more difficult than it is now; and it is only to be expected that John's pioneer attempt at a chronology of our Lord's life contains serious inaccuracies. But to admit that is a very different matter from saying that it is a wholly ideal construction."³

III. But now to return to Knox's argument. Is he correct in saying that Luke exercised freedom over his material in three ways? (see pp. 71, 77). Let us examine these three lines of evidence in turn. (1) The emphasis which Luke gave to Jerusalem in the story of the beginnings of the Church. I think we must agree with Knox that in Acts Luke does

¹ K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, V, London: Macmillan & Co., 1933, p. 474.

² R. W. Funk, "The Enigma of the Famine Visit", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXV, (1956), p. 135.

³ B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, London: Macmillan & Co., 1926, p. 424.

emphasize the role of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Church regarded itself as the Mother Church and took over the same role as the Temple authorities did for the Jews of the Diaspora. When the Temple was destroyed in A.D. 70 the Church became for Christians the "New Jerusalem" (Rev. 21:2), although the "New Jerusalem" is only the Church in its eschatological dimension, as it were.¹ Knox admits that the ground for Luke's emphasis on the role of Jerusalem lay "partly in the fact that Jerusalem was the most important Jewish city".² Luke therefore is probably truthfully reflecting the historical facts. E.g. Paul speaks of preaching the Gospel "from Jerusalem as far round as Illyricum" (Rom. 15:19). Is he not here thinking of Jerusalem as the central point for the Christian mission? Or again Paul goes up to Jerusalem to seek approval for his Gospel from "those in repute" (Gal. 2:2, 2:6). Would these men of reputation be likely to be found stationed elsewhere than at the centre of the Church's activities - Jerusalem? Paul is obviously thinking of Jerusalem as the headquarters. Furthermore Paul tells us that it was to Jerusalem that he went "with aid for the saints" (Rom. 15:25, 26, 31). In his mind Jerusalem is the place of central authority (I Cor. 16:3). We can agree with Knox that Luke in Acts exhibits a tendency to emphasize the role of Jerusalem in the story of the beginnings of the Church, but we cannot agree that this illustrates

¹ The same eschatological symbolism was used of the "Temple". Paul makes use of this idea of Church members as "the temple" (I Cor. 3:16-17, 6:19; II Cor. 6:14-7:1). Other references to Temple symbolism may be found in Eph. 2:18-22; I Tim. 3:15 though not definitely Pauline. Cf. also B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, Cambridge: University Press, 1965.

² Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 25.

Knox's argument that Luke "had fuller control of the arrangement of his materials and was in large part responsible for it".¹

(2) The second way in which Knox finds Luke exercising freedom over his material is in the impression which he creates of the "Twelve" ruling the entire Christian Church. Again we ask the question: Is not Luke truthfully reflecting the facts? If Jerusalem was the headquarters of the Church then it was perfectly natural that those who remained in Jerusalem would have a tendency to direct the administration. Local matters would of course be settled on the spot by the local presbyter or bishop but issues which concerned the whole Church needed the guidance and direction of those in authority, namely, the Apostles in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 8:14). This is what happened when the Gentile-Jewish controversy arose - an Ecumenical Council was called at Jerusalem to settle the question (Acts 15). Moreover, in this matter a comparison of Paul's letters and Acts confirms the viewpoint that the "Twelve" did rule from Jerusalem. Thus W. D. Davies writes: "The emergence of this 'new' Christianity raised the question, inevitably, of its relation to the mother community in Jerusalem. The latter sent emissaries to inspect the new brethren, and it is clear that, despite the development of new groups of Christians, the Church was still conceived as a single entity centered at Jerusalem. Communities outside were not autonomous, but extensions of the Church in that city and subject to the authority of the leaders

¹ Ibid., p. 24.

there."¹ In Paul's list of the charismatic gifts he puts "apostles" first (I Cor. 12:28). It must be noted, however, that "apostles" cannot be regarded as synonymous with the "Twelve". Barnabas was apparently regarded as an "apostle" (I Cor. 9:5, 6; Acts 14:4, 14). Andronicus and Junias were also looked upon as "apostles" (Rom. 16:7).² Moreover, the fact that Paul had to warn against false-apostles (II Cor. 11:13) proves that the title was no longer being used in a technical sense as restricted to those who had been called by Jesus. In his account of the Resurrection appearances Paul says that the Risen Christ was seen by "James and all the Apostles" (I Cor. 15:7). By his own defence of his right to be called an "apostle" Paul shows how highly he regards the apostolic office (II Cor. 11:5, 11:13, 12:11; Gal. 1:1, 1:17, 1:19; Eph. 2:20, 3:5; I Thess. 2:6). J-L. Leuba³ thinks that these were two forms of ministry both genuinely primitive - the "institutional" and the "charismatic". He says: "Certainly this does not provide an easy solution to everything. In particular we do not know whether Paul considered his charismatic ministry to be an exception in comparison with that of the Twelve, or whether he recognized that others beside himself and the Twelve might be apostles."

¹ W. D. Davies, "The Apostolic Age and the Life of Paul", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1962, p. 871.

² The rendering of ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις in the NEB "they are eminent among the apostles" is a better translation than "who are of note among the apostles" of the KJV. See C. K. Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1957, p. 283. Cf. G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel, who adopts the view that the "Twelve" were not originally regarded as apostles and this is a creation of Luke's - but this seems to me to be highly unlikely.

³ J-L. Leuba, New Testament Pattern, London: Lutterworth Press, 1953, p. 51ff.

However that may be, our point of departure in an exposition of Biblical theology can only be that furnished by the apostles of whom we know to be such: the Twelve on the one hand, Paul on the other."¹ That there is this contrast between the ministry of the Twelve and the ministry of Paul, between the church in Jerusalem and the church in the Gentile world we do not deny. What seems to be wrong is the view that they are in constant tension and conflict with each other. This was the error of the Tübingen School but it is a distortion which began very early in the history of the Church. J-L. Leuba says: "Judaizing Christianity, ever more isolated from the great Church after A.D. 70, increasingly magnified the authority of the Twelve even to the point of viewing Paul occasionally as an apostate. Marcion, on the other hand, exalted Paul at the expense of the Twelve."² But the question is, "Can this charge be laid against Luke?" Does he not, rather, bear a witness to the unity between the Twelve and Paul? This impression which Knox sees Luke giving of the Twelve in Jerusalem ruling the entire Church may be more the result of our reading of Luke's account through prejudiced eyes than directly attributable to Luke himself. In Knox's case the distortion arises from his "principle of criticism" that Paul's evidence as found in his letters constitutes the only reliable source for reconstructing the Apostle's life.

(3) The third way in which Knox finds Luke exercising freedom over his material is in the emphasis which he places on the political innocuousness of the new movement. But is not the same emphasis to be found

¹ Ibid., p. 55.

² Ibid., pp. 90, 91. Leuba traces this dualism through the history of Biblical interpretation.

in Paul's letters? Not in the same degree, but it may be argued that is is there nonetheless. For example, Paul instructs the Christians at Rome "to be subject to the governing authorities" (Rom. 13:1).¹ He also reminds Christians "to be submissive to rulers and authorities" (Titus 3:1) and again "I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way" (I Tim. 2:1, 2). It must be admitted that both these latter references may not be Pauline. P. N. Harrison regards them as "Pauline phrases".² In the discussion of Luke's "purpose" it was pointed out (p. 55) that undoubtedly one of his aims in the Acts was to commend Christianity to the Roman government. We cannot deny that Luke has a tendency to do this but again the question must be asked: Is he exercising freedom over his materials in so doing or is he accurately reflecting what in fact was the truth? It is impossible to arrive at hard and fast conclusions on this matter. The question remains an open one but it may be shown that the same emphasis is not totally lacking in St. Paul though present to a

¹ It has been argued by O. Cullmann, Christ et le Temps, Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, S.A., 1947, pp. 137-150 (Eng. ed. pp. 191-210) that ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις refers not to the state but to the "invisible angelic powers that stand behind the State government" (p. 195). The question cannot be argued here but what Paul seems to be saying is that the State derives its existence from God and in that sense its laws are to be obeyed. The purpose of the Church is progressively to bring these "powers" under the influence of Christ. See also his book The State in the New Testament, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. Cf. G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, pp. 22-30; K. Barth, Community, State and Church, New York: Doubleday & Doran, 1960.

² P. N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, Oxford: University Press, 1921, Appendix IV.

lesser degree.

Summary

It is now necessary that we should gather together the results of this investigation. If we assume that the general result of our study of Lucan sources is sound then we conclude that Luke was using first-class historical material which he used carefully but not necessarily in chronological order. The crucial point in Knox's argument as we stated at the outset is the supposition that the collected letters of Paul constitute a better source for his chronology than the narrative of Acts. Either this is true, and we must readjust our view of Paul's chronology to it, or it is false. Knox's thesis stands or falls on the answer to this question. We have suggested that Luke is a somewhat better authority than Knox makes him out to be especially in his treatment of the "speeches" in Acts. But we agree with Knox that in the arrangement and classification of his material Luke has acted without primary consideration of chronological demands. This does not mean, however, that we cannot use the information in Acts in our reconstruction of Pauline Chronology. We may use Luke's material, always keeping in mind his methods, in our reconstruction of Paul's life. We began this chapter with the question - "What is the historical value of Acts?" We can answer it by saying that it is of first-class historical value. Luke was an honest and careful historian who was governed by his own purposes. These purposes as we have noted were not always chronological but nevertheless supply us with the only "life" of St. Paul which we have. We shall use the information in the Acts to supplement the material in the Epistles.

Our inquiry, then, leads to the view that the Chronology of St.

Paul must be based on two main sources, the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. The attempt, however, to harmonize these sources is fraught with difficulties. John Knox has proposed a reconstruction of Pauline chronology using Paul's Epistles as the only primary source. This has provoked a fresh study of the whole subject. In a preliminary investigation of the sources we have shown that while the letters of Paul are undoubtedly the primary source, and while the information in Acts must never be used to correct them, nevertheless Luke's account of Paul's career is in fact the only one we have and is a valuable source for Pauline chronology. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any chronology of Paul's life could be written without it. In the words of T. H. Campbell, "The correspondences between the two sources are such as one would expect from two reliable, but independent sources, while the differences, though not to be ignored, are not such as to affect the general credibility of Acts. Acts is not far wrong in its general picture of Paul's movements at those points where the record can be checked by his letters."¹ Our reaction to Knox's theory, with its negative attitude toward Acts, is to regard it as a recrudescence of the old Tübingen ideas. We shall use the chronological material in the Epistles as a primary source and see if the notices in the Acts do in fact conflict with it. But before we go on to do that we must turn first of all to an investigation of the date of the Crucifixion since this date provides us with our terminus a quo for the chronology of St. Paul.

¹ T. H. Campbell, "Paul's 'Missionary Journeys' as Reflected in His Letters", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV, (1955), p. 86.

PART TWO

THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

CHAPTERS V - VII

CHAPTER V

THE CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICE IN LUKE 3:1-2

Synopsis

Luke 3:1

How are the years of Tiberius to be reckoned?

Ramsay's conclusions.

The investigations of Fotheringham and Ogg.

Numismatic evidence.

The reckoning of years among the Romans.

The reckoning of years among the Jews.

Table 1. The Jewish Year.

Theory 27-28.

Theory 28-29.

Conclusion: Luke 3:1 = A.D. 29.

Table 2. The Regnal Years of Tiberius Caesar.

CHAPTER V

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICE IN LUKE 3:1-2

Luke 3:1

The Crucifixion provides the terminus a quo for the chronology of Paul. But a great variety of opinion exists among scholars as to the dating of this event. Dates ranging from as early as the year A.D. 21 to as late as the year A.D. 35 have been suggested.¹

Luke's reference to "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" (Luke 3:1) marking the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist, is a chronological note of supreme importance.² The date of the Crucifixion is linked with the length of Jesus' ministry and the starting point is "the fifteenth year of Tiberius". The first question which

¹ Eisler's theory in The Messiah Jesus, London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1931, p. 17 that the Crucifixion took place in A.D. 21 cannot be taken seriously since it is based on the apocryphal "Acts of Pilate" (Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiae, I. ix. 3) and conflicts with numismatic evidence. L. Girard's, Le Cadre Chronologique du Ministère du Jésus, Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1953, pp. 59ff. gives a list of scholars who date the Crucifixion between A.D. 25 and 35.

² J. K. Fotheringham, "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the date of the Crucifixion", Journal of Theological Studies, (1934), XXXV, p. 147: "The one precise date, and there can be no doubt that it was intended to be a precise date, is the fifteenth year of Tiberius." L. Girard, op. cit., p. 27: "Il faut la chercher dans le 'quinto decimo anno imperii Tiberii' (Lc 3,1), la seule donnée chronologique du Ministère de Jésus qui soit, dans l'intention même de l'auteur sacré, déterminée, précise."

arises from this chronological notice is, can we determine the date from which this reckoning is made?

Tiberius Claudius Nero was born on Nov. 16, 42 B.C. In A.D. 4 Augustus adopted him and named him as his successor.¹ From this date he was called Tiberius Julius Caesar. He probably began to rule jointly with Augustus c. A.D. 12 since Tacitus describes him as "colleague in imperium" (collega imperii)² from this time on. On August 19, A.D. 14 Augustus died and his funeral was held around September 12. On September 17 Tiberius was declared his successor by the Senate. Now from which date is the reign of Tiberius to be reckoned? From the time of his joint rule with Augustus c. A.D. 12? From Augustus' death on Aug. 19, A.D. 14? Or from the time of his official designation as emperor by the Senate on September 17, A.D. 14? A further problem concerns the system of reckoning that Luke is using. Is he using the Roman or Jewish method? This in turn raises the question of the date of the New Year's Day which is being employed. A thorough discussion of these problems is unwarranted here and the reader is referred to George Ogg's The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus or Jack Finegan's Handbook of Biblical Chronology. However, these questions cannot be left unanswered and we turn aside now to consider some of the underlying principles which will govern our decisions. It will easily be seen that the different systems of reckoning the years of Tiberius will result in different dates for the beginning of his reign.

¹ Dio Cassius, Roman History, LV. 13. 1.

² Tacitus, Annals, I. 3. i.e., a colleague in the supreme majesterial authority reflecting the power of the King divided among the consuls.

How are the Years of Tiberius to be Reckoned? Ramsay's conclusions.
The Investigations of Fotheringham and Ogg. Numismatic Evidence.

Ramsay¹ maintained that because Luke was writing during the reign of Titus (A.D. 78-81) and because the regnal years of Titus were reckoned from the time of his association with his father Vespasian, Luke followed a similar practice in reckoning the years of Tiberius. This implies that Luke was using a chronological table which was based on some other system than dating by regnal years, probably one reckoned on the basis of consular years. But as Fotheringham has pointed out "If he was converting the date from consular years, he would doubtless have named consuls."² This theory which supports the view that the regnal years of Tiberius were reckoned not from the death of Augustus but from some earlier date appears to have originated with Ussher and has been advocated by Weiss, Zahn, Ramsay and others. More recently Fotheringham and Ogg have made a thorough investigation of the methods of chronological reckoning and have rejected this theory. It is now the generally accepted view that the regnal years of Tiberius are to be counted from the date of Augustus' death, August 19, A.D. 14, and from its anniversary each year. This hypothesis is supported by the evidence of coins. The evidence is summed up by Madden: "The hypothesis of a dating of the years of Tiberius from an epoch earlier by three years than the death of Augustus,^{which,} from the sixteenth century downward, ^{which} has found favour with many learned men, will not bear examination; it is unknown to the early ecclesiastical writers, and nowhere in

¹ W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, (3rd ed.), 1897, pp. 386ff.

² J. K. Fotheringham, op. cit., p. 150.

histories, on monuments, or coins, is a trace of any such epoch of Tiberius to be met with."¹ Most scholars will agree that the chronology of Tiberius begins with the date of Augustus' death on August 19, A.D.

14. To calculate the "fifteenth year of Tiberius" from that date involves an investigation of the various systems of reckoning years and a decision as to which method Luke was using.

The Reckoning of Years Among the Romans

The Roman year was reckoned from one New Year's Day, i.e. January first, to the next. However, Roman numerals were so cumbersome to work with that it was found much more expedient to identify the years either by the names of the consuls (two were elected each year and entered office on the first of January) or by the regnal years of the emperor. These regnal years were usually calculated from the date of the ruler's accession, though not always, and the question as to whether the reign began with the death of the preceding ruler or whether there was an interval has always to be considered. It was generally the practice among the Romans to regard the balance of the year in which a new emperor came to the throne until the next New Year's Day, i.e. to the next January first, as the accession year. This portion of a year would be credited to the predecessor as his last numbered regnal year. The emperor's Year I therefore would be calculated from the first New Year's Day following his accession (i.e. from January first).

Other factors which influenced Roman dating were the awarding of

¹ F. W. Madden, Coins of the Jews, London: Trübner & Co., 1903, p. 177, f.n. 1.

"honours". These were given to the emperor by the senate. The three most significant were: (i) election to the office of consul. (ii) conferring of "tribunician power" (tribunicia potestate, δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία) which the emperors enjoyed along with the other tribunes. (iii) the conferring of the title of imperator (αὐτοκράτωρ) by the senate for outstanding achievements. This imperial acclamation could be conferred more than once and even several times in one year. Tacitus in commenting on the death of Augustus lists these "honours" in ascending order of importance: "Much, too, was said of the number of his consulates (in which he had equalled the combined totals of Valerius Corvus and Casius Marius [i.e. $6 + 7 = 13$]), his tribunician power unbroken for thirty-seven years, his title of imperator twenty-one times earned, and his other honours, multiplied or new."¹

The Reckoning of Years Among the Jews

The Jewish year, like the Roman, was reckoned from one New Year's Day to the next. The problem arises however over the fact that the Jews observed four New Years² and a decision must always be made as to which was intended.

(i) The New Year for reckoning "kings and feasts" was I Nisan (March/April).

(ii) The New Year for reckoning "tithe of cattle" was I Elul (August/September).

(iii) The New Year for reckoning of the years of "foreign kings"

¹ Tacitus, Annals, I. 9.

² Rosh ha-Shanah, I. 1.

and of "years of release and Jubilee years" was I Tishri (September/October).

(iv) The New Year for the planting of "trees" was I Shebat (January/February).

Only two of these New Years really concern us here, viz., the New Years for "kings and feasts" (I Nisan) and the New Years for "foreign kings" (I Tishri). The first question which has to be answered in reckoning Jewish years is: from which New Year's Day is the calculation being made? In spite of the fact that the Mishnah states that the reigns of foreign kings were to be reckoned from I Tishri there is much debate among scholars as to whether this was in fact the general practice. Those who think that the Jews did observe I Tishri as the New Year's Day for calculating the reigns of foreign kings support their argument with references to such biblical passages as Nehemiah 1:1 and 2:1, "And it came to pass in the month of Kislev, in the twentieth year" (Neh. 1:1). "And it came to pass in the month of Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king" (Neh. 2:1). They agree that it is the same "twentieth year" that is referred to in both passages and therefore Nisan could only come after Kislev if the year was reckoned from Tishri.¹ This becomes apparent when the two Jewish years calculated from the two different New Year's Days are set out in parallel columns as in the table below.

¹ See J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, pp. 90ff.

TABLE 1

THE JEWISH YEAR RECKONED FROM I NISAN			THE JEWISH YEAR RECKONED FROM I TISHRI		
1.	Nisan	(Mar-Apr)	7.	Tishri	(Sep-Oct)
2.	Iyyar	(Apr-May)	8.	Marheshvan	(Oct-Nov)
3.	Sivan	(May-Jun)	9.	Kislev	(Nov-Dec)
4.	Tammuz	(Jun-Jul)	10.	Tebeth	(Dec-Jan)
5.	Ab	(Jul-Aug)	11.	Shebat	(Jan-Feb)
6.	Elul	(Aug-Sep)	12.	Adar	(Feb-Mar)
7.	Tishri	(Sep-Oct)	1.	Nisan	(Mar-Apr)
8.	Marheshvan	(Oct-Nov)	2.	Iyyar	(Apr-May)
9.	Kislev	(Nov-Dec)	3.	Sivan	(May-Jun)
10.	Tebeth	(Dec-Jan)	4.	Tammuz	(Jun-Jul)
11.	Shebat	(Jan-Feb)	5.	Ab	(Jul-Aug)
12.	Adar	(Feb-Mar)	6.	Elul	(Aug-Sep)

This argument for dating the reigns of foreign kings from I Tishri is by no means conclusive. Another passage from the Babylonian Talmud, in a Gemara of the Mishnah, states clearly that I Nisan is always the date for calculating the order of the months: "Our Rabbis taught: On the first of Nisan is the New Year for months."¹ Again in Rosh ha-Shanah the argument for the New Year beginning with I Nisan is confirmed by citing I Kings 6:1,

"And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month of Ziv, which is the second month."

Here the old Canaanite name is used for designating the second month.

Ziv = Iyyar (see Table 1) and is reckoned as the second month both in the series of reckoning from the Exodus as well as that of Solomon's reign. In both cases therefore the calculation is made from I Nisan. Josephus

¹ Rosh ha-Shanah, 7a, p. 23.

also states that the New Year's Day was reckoned from I Nisan.¹

The second question concerns the point at which a year is to be calculated when it concerns the accession of a ruler. Is the regnal year to be counted from the actual day of the accession of the ruler to the anniversary date the following year? Or is the regnal year to be counted from the accession date to the next New Year's Day? In Jewish reckoning a part of a month was considered a whole month, or a part of a year a whole year. In the Babylonian Talmud² we read:

"If a king ascends the throne on the twenty-ninth day of Adar, as soon as the first of Nisan arrives he is reckoned to have reigned a year. This teaches us that Nisan is the New Year for kings, and that one day in a year is reckoned as a year. But if he ascended the throne on the first of Nisan he is not reckoned to have reigned a year till the next first of Nisan comes round."

It would seem therefore that we may accept as a general working principle the view that among the Jews the reckoning of years are to be made from the day of accession and if this occurs before I Nisan it is to be counted as the first year (even if only a day before) and if it occurs after I Nisan (even if only a day after or indeed the New Year's Day itself) it is not to be counted a first year until the following New Year's Day.

In summary we may say that the questions which always have to be answered in calculating a ruler's regnal years are: (i) How is the regnal year counted? From the actual accession date of the ruler or the annual anniversary each year (e.g. in the calculation of the regnal years

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, I. iii. 3.

² The Babylonian Talmud, (ed. by I. Epstein), London: The Soncino Press, 1938, Rosh ha-Shanah, Seder Mo'ed, VII (trans. by Maurice Simon), pp. 1ff.

of Tiberias is the first year of his reign to be counted from his accession on September 17 or from the following New Year's Day)? Is it the equivalent of the calendar year? Or is it counted from the date of his accession to the next New Year's Day? i.e. Is the Roman or Jewish practice being followed? The Jewish practice being to count fractions of years as a whole.¹ (ii) What calendar is being used - the Roman or the Jewish? This is important because the New Year's Days differ (the Roman being observed on 1st January and the Jewish on the 1st Nisan).

Two possibilities therefore arise from this investigation of Luke's reference to the "fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar". Luke may have been reckoning: (i) according to a calendar year in which the calculation was made from the first New Year's Day following the ruler's accession (Roman Method) or (ii) according to a calendar year in which the calculation was made from the accession, in which case the first year is counted from the accession to the first New Year's Day (Jewish Method). There is the further question as to whether the reckoning if Jewish was to be calculated from the first of Nisan or Tishri.

The first year of the new emperor might stretch from the 19th of August, A.D. 14 (the date of the death of Augustus) to the 18th of August, A.D. 15; or from the 17th of September, A.D. 14 (the date of the accession of Tiberius by action of the Senate) to the 16th of September, A.D. 15; or from the 1st of October, A.D. 14 (Jewish New Year's Day for foreign kings) to the 30th of September, A.D. 15. It may also have covered all of the year A.D. 15 from the 1st of January (Roman New Year's Day) to

¹ The significance of this will be seen in the reckoning of Paul's chronological notes in Gal. 1-2. See Chap. X.

the 31st of December. In this system, the 1st year of Tiberius covers 12 full months and the 15th year coincides in all or in part with the 29th year of the Christian era. Let us call this the theory 28-29.

<u>Christian Era:</u>	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
<u>Years of Tiberius:</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		

But we must also ask if the space stretching from the death of Augustus to the New Year's Day following should not be considered as the first year: from the 19th of August to the 31st of December, A.D. 14 (according to the Roman calendar); or to the 30th of September in Syria. In this case the 15th year of Tiberius is identified in all or in part with the year A.D. 28, from January to December or from the 1st of October, A.D. 27 (or possibly from 1st Nisan 28?) to the 30th of September, A.D. 28. Let us call this the theory 27-28.¹

<u>Christian Era:</u>	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
<u>Years of Tiberius:</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		

As has already been intimated the question of the fifteenth year of Tiberius is closely linked with the question of the length of Jesus' ministry. Scholars who prefer the view that Jesus' ministry was of one or two years' duration as supported by the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels adopt the theory A.D. 27-28 whereas those who prefer the view that Jesus' ministry was one of three years duration as supported by the evidence of the Johannine Gospel adopt the theory A.D. 28-29. The former base their arguments on the evidence of the Mishnah (Rosh ha-Shanah I. 1) which tells us that the New Year for the reckoning of the reigns of foreign kings was I Tishri (Sept-Oct) and supports the hypothesis that the fifteenth year of

¹ According to Girard, op. cit., p. 35, f.n. 1 this theory was first proposed by O. Holtzmann, Leben Jesu, Tübingen: 1901, p. 84.

Tiberius began on the first of Tishri, A.D. 27. The latter argue that Luke being a Syrian¹ reckoned as did the Syrians and by the fifteenth year of Tiberius is meant the year beginning the first of Nisan, A.D. 28-29.

Conclusion

A fresh approach to this matter has been made recently by L. Girard in his book Le Cadre Chronologique du Ministère de Jésus in which he shows that in all ancient writings which provide a reliable synchronism the fifteenth year of Tiberius includes part of A.D. 29, which sufficiently indicates that the chronological notice in Luke 3:1, 2 means the year commencing the first of Nisan, A.D. 28 to A.D. 29 rather than the year commencing the first of Tishri, A.D. 27 to A.D. 28. Moreover, since Luke addresses both his books to the "most excellent" (κράτιστε) Theophilus, a form of address which he uses only in connection with Roman officials (Acts 23:26; 24:2; 26:25) it seems most probable that he is writing for a Gentile public in the Roman world. His readers would therefore be familiar with the Roman (Julian) calendar. Our conclusion therefore is that by the "fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" Luke meant the Julian year, or the first of January, A.D. 29; that he was using the Roman method of calculating a ruler's regnal years, i.e. the first year being counted from the New Year's Day following accession, which in this case would be January 1, A.D. 15. This makes the "fifteenth year of Tiberius" equivalent to the Julian year A.D. 29. This conclusion is further supported by the evidence of Tacitus² who equates the ninth year of Tiberius

¹ Cf. R. Glover, "'Luke the Antiochene' and Acts", New Testament Studies, XI, (1964), pp. 97-106.

² Tacitus, Annals, IV. 1.

with A.D. 23 and Suetonius¹ who equates the twenty-third year of Tiberius with A.D. 37 (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

THE REGNAL YEARS OF TIBERIUS CAESAR

A.D.		REGNAL YEAR
12	Tiberius governs jointly with Augustus	
13		
14	August 19, death of Augustus, September 17, Tiberius appointed emperor by the Senate	Accession Year (Aug. 19 or Sept. 17 to Jan. 1)
15	.....	Year 1
16	.....	Year 2
17	.....	Year 3
18	.....	Year 4
19	.....	Year 5
20	.....	Year 6
21	.....	Year 7
22	.....	Year 8
23	.....	Year 9
24	.....	Year 10
25	.....	Year 11
26	.....	Year 12
27	.....	Year 13
28	.....	Year 14
29	.....	Year 15
30	.....	Year 16
31	.....	Year 17
32	.....	Year 18
33	.....	Year 19
34	.....	Year 20
35	.....	Year 21
36	.....	Year 22
37	March 16, death of Tiberius Caesar	Year 23

¹ Suetonius, Tiberius, 73.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOURCES FOR CALCULATING THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

Synopsis

The dates of Roman officials.

The date of the Jewish high priest.

Conclusion: Boundaries for investigation - A.D. 28-36.

Calendars:

- I. The Calendar of the Egyptians.
- II. The Calendar of the Babylonians.
- III. The Calendar of the Jews.
Table 3 - Jewish Feasts.
- IV. The Calendar of Jubilees.
- V. The Calendar of the Qumran community.
- VI. The Calendar of the Romans.
Table 4 - Comparative Table of Ancient Calendars
Showing Jewish Calendar at end of Old Testament
Period.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOURCES FOR CALCULATING THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

There are three major sources for calculating the date of Jesus' death:

1. The dates of Roman officials.
2. The date of the Jewish high priest.
3. The Jewish calendar.

The Dates of Roman Officials

According to the Gospel writers Jesus was put to death during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (Matt. 27:2; Mark 15:1; Luke 23:1; John 18:29). This evidence is also supported by the writer of Acts (4:27). Pontius Pilate succeeded Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judaea in A.D. 26. This date is confirmed by the writings of Josephus¹ the Jewish historian, and Tacitus² the Roman chronicler. It also receives some confirmation from extant procuratorial coins.³ The impression that one

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, XVIII. iii. 3.

² Cf. Tacitus, Annals, XV. xlv.

³ See P. L. Hedley, "Pilate's Arrival in Judaea", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, (1934), pp. 56-58.

receives from Luke's gospel is that Pilate was no new-comer to his office at the time of Jesus' Passion (Luke 13:1; 23:12). Pontius Pilate was dismissed from office before the Passover of A.D. 36. Therefore Jesus cannot have been put to death after that date.

The Date of the Jewish High Priest

The name of the high priest at the time of the Crucifixion is also well known. According to the New Testament records it was Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas (Matt. 26:3, 57; John 11:49; 18:13, 24). Luke also mentions Annas and Caiaphas in connection with the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry (Luke 3:2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφᾳ). It is usually assumed that the reason why Luke mentioned Annas along with Caiaphas is because the former was still exerting a powerful influence. Annas actually held the office of high priest from A.D. 6 to A.D. 15. They are both referred to in Acts 4:6 as well - Ἀννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καϊάφᾳς. Caiaphas was appointed high priest by Valerius Gratus in A.D. 18. The high priests between Annas and Caiaphas, according to Josephus,¹ were Ishmael (A.D. 15-16), Eleazar (A.D. 16-17), and Simon (A.D. 17-18). Caiaphas continued in office until his deposition by the Syrian legate Vitellius at the time of the Passover in A.D. 36 (April 30th).²

Conclusion: Boundaries for Investigation - A.D. 28-36.

The above evidence establishes the date of the Crucifixion as

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, II. 2. The dates are not given by Josephus and are only approximate.

² R. A. Parker & W. A. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75, Providence: Brown University Press, 1956, p. 46.

having taken place sometime between A.D. 29 ("the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar") and A.D. 36. These dates provide us with the boundaries for our investigation.

Calendars

In view of the fact that so much of this study will involve the various calendars in use throughout Paul's lifetime we must devote some space now to a review of these calendars. The Jewish calendar probably owes its origin to at least two other calendars of antiquity, viz., the Egyptian and the Babylonian. No attempt will be made here to give a full discussion of ancient calendars and only those which have some bearing on our subject will be discussed. The reader is referred to J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology (pp. 21-76) and the various Dictionaries of the Bible, which all treat this subject quite fully.

I. The Calendar of the Egyptians.

The ancient Egyptians divided the year into three seasons. The first was called Akhet (inundation) and was the time when the Nile overflowed its banks and flooded the fields. The second season was known as Peroyet (coming-forth) and lasted from the time the water receded to permit seeding until harvest. The third season or Shomu (deficiency) was so designated because the river was very low and it lasted until the recurrence of inundation which completed the cycle. As time went on the Egyptians noticed that these agricultural seasons roughly coincided with two astronomical observations. The first was the summer solstice which occurred at about the same time as the season of inundation. The second was the first rising of Sirius (the Dog Star), the brightest star in the heavens, also at the time of the summer solstice. The elapsed time from

when Sirius first became visible (heliacal rising) to the time that it became invisible because of its nearness to the sun and its heliacal rising again was $365\frac{1}{4}$ days (the same as the duration of the Julian calendar year). The Egyptian calendar had twelve lunar months all of which were named (see Table 4). This calendar therefore may be designated as a lunar-stellar calendar.

II. The Calendar of the Babylonians.

The Babylonians also based their calendar on the observations of the moon. Like the Egyptians their year began in the spring and continued for twelve months (each having 29 or 30 days). At first the problem of bringing the lunar year in line with the solar year, which is approximately eleven days longer, was solved by simply reckoning the month which began the vernal equinox as the first month of the new year. Later this rectification was made by ingeniously intercalating seven additional lunar months over a span of nineteen years. By using this device the Babylonians came remarkably close to solving the problem of reconciling the lunar year with the solar. Finegan says: "Thus, the difference between 235 lunar months and 19 solar years is only .086403 day or 2 hours, 4 minutes, 25.22 seconds. This is how close the ancient Babylonian system came to solving the problem of the relationship between the lunar year and the solar year."¹ However, it is this small difference which presents the greatest difficulty in setting up a perpetually fixed lunisolar calendar.

¹ J. Finegan, op. cit., p. 31.

III. The Calendar of the Jews.

In New Testament times, so far as is known, the Jewish calendar was lunisolar. It was based on (i) the empirical observation of the phases of the moon. This is indicated by the Hebrew vocabulary. The word for "moon" being **יָרֵחַ** (yeraḥ) and the word for both "new moon" and "new month" being **חֹדֶשׁ** (ḥodesh). In the LXX **יָרֵחַ** (Deut. 33:14, etc.) and **חֹדֶשׁ** (Gen. 29:14) are both translated as μήν (month). A Greek word for "moon" is *μήνη*. (ii) The year itself being calculated by the sun as is indicated by the Hebrew word for "year" **שָׁנָה** (shanah) which signifies "a circling around to the same starting point" or a "revolution of time".¹ In the LXX it is translated by ἐνιαυτός "a cycle of time" (Gen. 1:14, etc.). Further proof of the lunisolar character of the Jewish calendar is found in the Canaanite names for four months associated with agriculture and found in the Old Testament.

(1) Abib (**אֲבִיב**), Exodus 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1.

This word means sprouting or budding. It refers to the period when the barley shoots into the ear (approximately March-April).

(2) Ziv (**זִיב**), I Kings 6:1, (**זִיב**), I Kings 6:37. This term means the beauty of flowers therefore Ziv is the month of flowers (approximately April-May).

(3) Ethanim (**אֶתָנִים**), I Kings 8:2. This is the month of perennial streams (approximately September-October).

(4) Bul (**בּוּל**), I Kings 6:38. The word probably means "rain" and refers to the rain month (approximately October-November).

¹ G. Ogg, op. cit., p. 262; J. Finegan, Ibid., p. 18.

The lunar year consisted of twelve months which were reckoned from the appearance of the crescent of the new moon. However, since the lunar year was some 10-11 days shorter (approximately 354 days) than the solar year it must have been necessary to add a month every two or three years in order that the months might coincide with their names and the festivals fall at the same time each year (though the Old Testament has nothing to say about this practice of intercalating a month). This month was called Veadar and was intercalated between Adar and Nisan. New Year's Day in New Testament times, according to Josephus,¹ was reckoned from the 1st of Nisan. There was also the beginning of the year for buying and selling which began in the autumn (see p. 102ff). This was also recognized as New Year's Day (Rosh ha-Shanah I. 3). This was calculated from the 1st of Tishri and is described in Lev. 23:24 as "a solemn rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets", and in Num. 29:1 as "a day of blowing of trumpets". The practice of keeping both a secular and ecclesiastical New Year may be compared with our custom of observing the first Sunday in Advent as the beginning of the Church year and the observing of the first day in January as the secular New Year's Day. The Jews also observed yearly "festivals" which are mentioned in the New Testament records and are important in dating certain events in Jesus' and - more important for us - in Paul's ministry.

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, I. iii. 3.

TABLE 3

ANNUAL FESTIVALS IN THE JEWISH YEAR

Name	Date	Biblical Reference
1. <u>Passover</u>	Fourteenth day of the first month = Nisan (March/April)	Exodus 12:6
2. <u>Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost</u>	Fifty days after the ceremony of the barley sheaf at Passover	Lev. 23:16 Deut. 16:10
3. <u>Day of Atonement</u>	Tenth day of the seventh month = Tishri (September/October)	Lev. 23:7
4. <u>Tabernacles</u>	Fifteenth day of the seventh month = Tishri (September/October), for seven days	I Kings 8:2
5. <u>Dedication</u>	Twenty-fifth day of the ninth month = Kislev	I Macc. 4:59
6. <u>Purim</u>	Fourteenth and fifteenth days of the twelfth month = Adar (February/March)	Esther 9:17-18

IV. The Calendar of Jubilees

In the Calendar of Jubilees the year was divided into four seasons. The beginning of each season was marked by the appearance of the "new moon", though this probably meant simply the "first day" as the calendar was actually based on the solar year.¹ Each season contained thirteen weeks or 91 days. In each season of three months therefore there must

¹ Jubilees 6:23-32. See A. C. Headlam, "Jubilees, Book of, or Little Genesis", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, II, (1903), p. 791. Cf. J. van Goudoever, Biblical Calendars, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961, pp. 62-70.

have been two months of 30 days each and one of 31 days.¹ The year consisted of 52 weeks or 364 days. In this calendar there was a fixed relationship between the days of the month and the days of the week which is something which cannot be found in a lunar calendar. E.g., Passover is fixed by Old Testament law as the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month of the year.² With a lunar calendar it will vary from year to year. In the Qumran calendar Passover always falls on Tuesday evening. The monks at Qumran were therefore using a calendar in which the days of the week remained constant in relation to the days of the month. Thus J. Finegan writes: "The calendar of Jubilees seems, therefore, to have been the calendar of the Qumran community."³

V. The Calendar of the Qumran Community.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 evidence came to light which supported the view that the Jewish calendar in use outside Jerusalem may have been that of the book of Jubilees. According to this calendar every fixed date fell on a fixed day of the week or month, e.g., the Passover was always celebrated on Tuesday evening. If Jesus was following this calendar as Mlle. Jaubert argues then he ate the Passover

¹ The book of Enoch (Ethiopic Enoch or I Enoch) follows this same pattern. See R. H. Charles, "Enoch, (Ethiopic) Book of-", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, (1903), pp. 705-708. It is from this book of Enoch that we discover that it was the third month in each season of three months that added the extra day making it 31 days and that the year began with the vernal equinox.

² Exodus 12:6. Leviticus 23:5-14 ordains the Passover for the evening of the 14th Abib (see Table 4). Cf. J. C. Rylaarsdam, "Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread", Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III, (1962), pp. 663-668.

³ J. Finegan, op. cit., p. 56.

on Tuesday evening with his disciples.¹ Ingenious as this theory may be it does not amount to proof that John and the Synoptics were actually using different calendars, as has been suggested.

VI. The Calendar of the Romans.

The early Roman calendar consisted of ten lunar months. Later two more months were added and Martius (March) was regarded as the beginning of the year. The word calendar comes from the ancient Roman word for the first day of each month which was called kalendae. i.e. Kalends or Calends perhaps derived from the Latin calare and the Greek καλᾶν - "to call". This probably was associated with the calling out of the day. The full moon was known as the "Ides" and in the long months occurred on the fifteenth day. In 46 B.C. this calendar had reached such a state of confusion that Julius Caesar decreed a reform of the calendar. After the Julian reform, if not before, the "Nones" were the fifth and the "Ides" the thirteenth day, except in March, May, July, September, in which the

¹ Much recent research has been done on this subject, e.g., A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân, ses origines bibliques, Vetus Testamentum, III, (1953), pp. 250-264; "La date de la Dernière Cène", Revue de l'histoire des Religions, CXLVI, (1954), pp. 140-173; La Date de la Cène, Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1957, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine", Vetus Testamentum, VII, (1957), pp. 35-61, "Jésus et le calendrier de Qumrân", New Testament Studies, VII, (1960-61), pp. 1-30. J. T. Milik, Dix Ans de Découvertes dans le Désert de Juda, Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1957, pp. 70ff. (Eng. edn. Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, London: S.C.M. Press, 1959, pp. 107ff.). N. Walker, "Jaubert's Solution of the Holy Week Problem", Expository Times, LXXII, 3, pp. 93-94. M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961, (Appendix D), pp. 199-201. M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Are both the Synoptics and John Correct about the Date of Jesus' Death?" Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXX, (1961), pp. 123-132; J. van Goudoever, Biblical Calendars, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961, pp. 223-227; K. A. Strand, "John as Quartodeciman: A Reappraisal", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXIV, (1956), pp. 251-258.

"Nones" were the seventh day and the "Ides" the fifteenth day. The periods of the moon were disregarded and the year was divided into twelve months of 31 and 30 days alternately, except February which had 29 days. Every fourth year February was to have 30 days. The New Year was changed from March to January 1. Later Augustus removed one day from February and added it to August so that the month named after him would be as long as that named for Julius Caesar. The number of days in the following month were then rearranged to avoid three months of 31 days occurring in succession. Leap years were those years which were exactly divisible by 4. With this calendar a single day was gained about every 400 years. In order to rectify this and to make the calendar year square with the solar year Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 decreed that while leap years were exactly divisible by 4, the centesimal years, e.g. 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900 would not be regarded as leap years but the year 2000 would be a leap year. This Gregorian calendar which is just a small variation from the Julian (so called in honour of Julius Caesar) is the one in use in the western world at the present time.

In the Old Testament the number of the month is cited first then the name of the month is given. E.g. "The first month, which is the month of Nisan" (Esther 3:7); "the third month, which is the month of Sivan" (Esther 8:9); "the ninth month, which is Chislev" (Zech. 7:1); "the tenth month, which is the month of Tebeth" (Esther 2:16); "the eleventh month, which is the month of Shebat" (Zech. 1:7); and "the twelfth month, which is the month of Adar" (Esther 3:7).

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANCIENT CALENDARS
SHOWING THE JEWISH CALENDAR AT THE END OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD
WITH NISAN I AS THE NEW YEAR'S DAY

JEWISH	EGYPTIAN	BABYLONIAN	CANAANITE	ROMAN (Julian)	APPROX. EQUIVA- LENT			
1. NISAN	יָדִי	Pharmuthi	Φαρμουθι	Nisanu	Abib	יָבִיב	Martius	Mar/Apr
2. IYYAR	יָאָר	Pachon	Παχών	Alaru	Ziv	יָזִיב	Aprilis	Apr/May
3. SIVAN	יָיִן	Pauni (or Payni)	Παῦνι	Simanu			Maius	May/Jun
4. TAMMUZ	יָמָז	Epeiph	Ἐπεῖφε	Duzu			Junius	Jun/Jul
5. AB	יָבֵב	Mesore	Μεσορῆ	Abu			Julius	Jul/Aug
6. ELUL	יָלוּל	Thoth	Θωθ	Ululu			Augustus	Aug/Sep
7. TISHRI	יָשְׁרִי	Phaophi	Φαῶφι	Tashritu	Ethanim	יָתָנִים	Septembris	Sep/Oct
8. MARHESHVAN or HESHVAN	יָמָשְׁבָּן יָחֶשְׁבָּן	Hathyr	Ἡθύρ	Arahsamnu	Bul	יָבֵל	Octobris	Oct/Nov
9. KISLEV	יָכֶסֶל	Koiak	Χοιάκ	Kislumu			Novembris	Nov/Dec
10. TEBETH	יָטֵבֶת	Tybi	Τυβι	Tebetnu			Decembris	Dec/Jan
11. SHEBAT	יָשֶׁבֶט	Mecheir	Μεχείρ	Shabatu			Januarius	Jan/Feb
12. ADAR	יָאָדָר	Phamenoth	Φαμενώθ	Addaru			Februarius	Feb/Mar

CHAPTER VII

THE EVIDENCE OF ASTRONOMY

Synopsis

Did the Crucifixion take place on Nisan 14 or 15?
The method of determining the new moon in the time of
Jesus.

Fotheringham's tables.

Table 5. The dates of Nisan 14 in the years A.D. 27-34.

Parker and Dubberstein's tables.

Results.

Date of the Crucifixion - 3rd April, A.D. 33.

Note. Jeremias on the chronology of the Last Supper.

CHAPTER VII

THE EVIDENCE OF ASTRONOMY

Did the Crucifixion Take Place On Nisan 14 or 15?

All four Gospels agree that the day on which the Crucifixion took place was a Friday--"the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath" (Matt. 27:62; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:31, 42). Almost all scholars are agreed on this.¹ But the question is whether this Friday was the 14th or 15th of Nisan. This problem is raised for us by the differences at this point between the Synoptic and the Johanne traditions. According to the Synoptic gospels the day on which the death of Jesus took place was Nisan 15. This follows from the description of the Last Supper as a Paschal celebration (Mark 14:12-16; Matt. 26:17-19). Mark and Luke increase the difficulties by stating that "on the first day of unleavened bread when they killed the Passover" Jesus sent his disciples to prepare the Last Supper (Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7). Attempts have

¹ Westcott basing his arguments on Matt. 12:40 was of the opinion that the Crucifixion took place on a Thursday. Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, Appendix to Chap. VI, pp. 344-5.

been made to solve this problem¹ and it would appear that at the time of Jesus the term "Passover" and "week of unleavened bread" were used rather loosely, especially among the Greek-speaking Jews. According to the Synoptic chronology then, Jesus was put to death on Friday, Nisan 15. John's gospel, on the other hand, dates the Crucifixion on Friday, Nisan 14. It would seem that the question as to which is correct dating could be easily settled by an investigation of the Jewish calendar. The evidence however is not conclusive as we pointed out on page 118. The Qumran sectaries may have been using the calendar of Jubilees and Jesus and his friends may have been following them, but this does not mean that the Synoptics were. The Passover on the orthodox calendar was a movable feast and Nisan 14 was reckoned on the appearance of the full moon after the spring equinox, and could therefore fall on any day of the week. On the calendar of Jubilees and Qumran it was a fixed date.

The Method of Determining the New Moon in the Time of Jesus.

In recent years attempts have been made by astronomers to answer the question which now arises: In what years between A.D. 26 and A.D. 36 did Nisan 14 or 15 fall on a Friday? Unfortunately, it is not simply a matter of astronomical calculation since we are not certain just how the Jews in the time of Jesus fixed their calendar. This has led many scholars to conclude that the date of the Crucifixion cannot be fixed with

¹ Cf. V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching, Behind the Third Gospel; A. J. B. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament; J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke, London: Macmillan & Co., 1930; H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1926.

any certainty.¹ Recently, Dr. George Ogg, in a study which deserves far more attention than it has hitherto received,² has thoroughly investigated this question and with more positive results. He bases his conclusion on the investigations of Fotheringham who contends that the Jewish method of determining the new moon in the time of Jesus can be proved with reasonable accuracy. The method is described in the Mishnaic tract Rosh ha-Shanah and the Πέτρου κήρυγμα cited by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, VI. v. 41.³ Each month consisted of 29 days with the possibility of a 30th day. At a certain hour in the evening of the day following the 29th of each month the calendar committee of priests assembled to wait for witnesses to appear. When two witnesses had declared under oath that they had seen the narrow shiny sickle of the new moon, then the day was reckoned to be the first of the new month. If the lunar crescent was not visible, either because it was not forward enough on its course or because of poor visibility, then the day was reckoned to be the 30th of the old month. The Jewish calendar month, therefore, was reckoned from the time that the new moon was reported visible, i.e. from phase. It was not reckoned from the time of the astronomical new moon, i.e. from conjunction. This is an important distinction and errors in calculating

¹ K. Lake and S. Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament, London: Christophers, 1938, p. 248. "Few pursuits are more unprofitable than the attempt to fix the date of the crucifixion along these lines. From the nature of the case, we can never find out accurately in which years the fifteenth of Nisan was on a Friday."

² G. Ogg, The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus, Cambridge: University Press, 1940.

³ J. K. Fotheringham, "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the Date of the Crucifixion", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, (1934), p. 157.

the time of the new moon might have been avoided had this been recognised.¹ An appeal was made to astronomers for a table which would answer the question: In what years between A.D. 26 and A.D. 36 did Nisan 14 or 15 fall on a Friday?

Fotheringham's Tables

In response to this appeal by Biblical scholars the astronomers supplied computations which indicated the dates of the appearance of the full moon on Friday and also showed whether it had risen high enough above the horizon to be visible. The most notable contributions came from Schoch (using about 400 ancient Babylonian observations as well as some modern), Gerhardt, Neugebauer and Fotheringham. Fotheringham (using observations made in Athens between 1859-80) worked out an equation for determining the minimum altitude in correlation with difference in azimuth as applied to the relevant phases of the moon. He published his results in the following tables.

¹ E.g. The first calculations published by H. Achelis were based incorrectly on conjunction. He later recognized his error and corrected it. See G. Ogg, op. cit., pp. 269ff.

TABLE 5THE DATES OF NISAN 14 IN THE YEARS A.D. 27-34

A.D.	Day	Moon's Altitude at Sunset	Difference of Azimuth at Sunset	Day	Moon's Altitude at Sunset	Difference of Azimuth at Sunset	Date of Nisan 14
27				Mar. 27	10.7°	6.6°	F. Apr. 10
28	Mar. 15	6.3°	5.9°	Mar. 16	17.6	8.0	Tu. Mar. 30
29	Mar. 4	5.6	6.0	Mar. 5	15.9	8.4	Sa. Mar. 19
29	Apr. 3	9.4	5.9	Apr. 4	20.4	7.3	M. Apr. 18
30	Mar. 23	9.3	5.4	Mar. 24	20.3	6.5	F. Apr. 7
31	Mar. 12	8.0	4.9	Mar. 13	19.9	6.0	Tu. Mar. 27
32	Mar. 30	10.2	3.0	Mar. 31	25.6	3.1	Su. Apr. 13
							or
33	Mar. 19	2.8	0.9	Mar. 20	16.8	1.5	M. Apr. 14
							F. Apr. 3
34	Mar. 9	10.1	4.5	Mar. 10	21.3	1.2	Tu. Mar. 23
							or
							W. Mar. 24

This table was published by Fotheringham in his article in the Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, (1934), p. 162.¹ It shows the moon's altitude at sunset, the difference of azimuth at sunset between sun and moon on the last evening that it was not visible, and the first evening that it could have been seen at the beginning of Nisan. Alternative dates are given for A.D. 29. The resultant day of the week and date for Nisan 14 is given in the last column. From his analysis Fotheringham concluded that unless it is assumed that the new moon appeared abnormally early or abnormally late or that Nisan fell a month after its normal season, then (1) A.D. 27 is the only year which will satisfy the implications of the Synoptists and (2) A.D. 30 or A.D. 33 are the only choices for John's implication that

¹ The tables of Parker and Dubberstein are in exact agreement with Fotheringham's results. See J. Finegan, op. cit., p. 295.

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the Crucifixion took place on 14 Nisan.

Parker and Dubberstein's Tables

R. A. Parker and W. D. Dubberstein have calculated the dates for the appearance of the new moon in the years 626 B.C.-A.D. 75. These tables are based on the astronomical calculations of K. Schoch and J. K. Fotheringham and are accurate to a very high degree of probability.² The dates in the tables are given as civil days, from midnight to midnight, although the Babylonian and Jewish days actually began with the preceding sunset.³ The use of these tables makes it possible to determine the first day of all twelve Jewish months. This means that Nisan 1 (New Moon) and therefore Nisan 14 (Passover) can be fixed in any year within the prescribed dates. When it is desirable to translate a date into the day of the week on which it fell this conversion can be made by consulting a table called the Dominical Letters or Sunday Letters.⁴ These tables are of inestimable value to biblical students as any Passover date (or other Jewish festival date) can now be determined for Paul's chronology providing that we know the name of the feast in question, i.e. Passover, Pentecost, etc.

Results

¹ It should be noted that A.D. 29 which was favoured by Turner cannot be made to agree with astronomy. Turner's date is based on the assumption that there was no intercalation that year, so that he was working with the month prior to that covered by Fotheringham's figures. See Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (1911), I, p. 410-415.

² R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, op. cit., p. 25.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴ J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, pp. 292ff.

What is the result of these astronomical calculations? Since A.D. 27 is prior to the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist in A.D. 29 (Luke 3:1 "the fifteenth year of Tiberius"); and since it does not support the impression given by Luke that at the time of the Crucifixion Pontius Pilate had been in office for some time, it can be rejected. This leaves us with only two alternatives, either A.D. 30 or A.D. 33. A.D. 30 could be accepted only if one agreed with the implications of the Synoptists that Jesus' ministry lasted for just one year.¹ Ogg's argument for the longer Johannine chronology of Jesus' ministry is well founded both on the basis of the internal evidence and the testimony of the Early Fathers.² Moreover, as Streeter has said: "John is the first

¹ J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, (trans. from the second German edition Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu, by Arnold Ehrhardt), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, pp. 10ff., also on the evidence of astronomical calculations carried out by Gerhardt, Schoch, Fotheringham and Neugebauer, concludes that the Crucifixion took place on Friday, Nisan 15, the 7th of April, in A.D. 30. But he does not exclude the possibility that it might have taken place on Friday, the 3rd of April, in A.D. 33. His choice between these two possible dates is based on (1) his acceptance of the Synoptists' chronology of Jesus' ministry and (2) his belief that A.D. 33 is highly improbable because it is not in agreement with the general New Testament chronology. Both these arguments we find to be unconvincing, because they are arguments from a preconceived chronological scheme and are biased in the desire to support a particular conclusion. J. Knox, "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), p. 18, thinks that the crucifixion "can be placed with some assurance around 30 A.D.". It should be noted, however, that he does not support this claim with any evidence and thinks "that this date is partly determined by the exigencies of the usual Pauline chronology".

² This is the conclusion reached by J. Corbishley, "The Chronology of New Testament Times", A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., (1953), p. 849. J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology writes: "Astronomically calculated, therefore, the likely dates for the crucifixion of Jesus appear to be either Friday, Apr. 7, A.D. 30 or Friday, Apr. 3, A.D. 33. Therewith, in terms of the standard Jewish calendar, the representation of the day in the Fourth Gospel appears to be confirmed." p. 296.

and the only one of the Evangelists who attempts a chronology. It may be that his chronology is not a very good one--but it is the only one we have."¹

There is one further astronomical phenomenon which is worth noting, though it need not be pressed in support of our argument. The writers of the Synoptic gospels all record that there was a darkness over the whole of the land from the sixth to the ninth hour (Matt. 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44). The best Lucan manuscripts add the words τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλειπόντος (X pc co Or) ἐκλειπόντος (B pc) "the sun being eclipsed". Fotheringham has pointed out² that this darkness cannot have been an eclipse of the sun since solar eclipses can occur only at the time of the new moon. There was, however, a partial eclipse of the moon on the evening of Friday, April 3rd, A.D. 33. This agrees with the Johannine chronology for the Crucifixion. However, there is still the difficulty that Luke records an eclipse of the sun not the moon. And, as Fotheringham has observed: "No one who saw the eclipse of the moon can have mistaken it for an eclipse of the sun."³ The most likely explanation, as Fotheringham has pointed out, is that Luke confused his sources. Besides the material common to Matthew and Mark which told of the darkness over all the land, Luke also had a special source dealing with the Crucifixion. It is not unlikely that it was from this source that he got his information concerning this eclipse of the sun. Or, it may be more likely that Luke's phrase is simply

¹ B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, p. 424.

² J. Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 160ff.

³ Ibid., p. 161.

an amplification of the Marcan tradition. The sun (for whatever reason) failed to give its light.

We conclude therefore that A.D. 33 is more probable than any other year on the grounds cited above, and that the Crucifixion took place on Friday, Nisan 14, the 3rd of April.¹ This establishes the terminus a quo for the chronology of St. Paul.²

We have completed the first part of our task: the establishment of the date of the Crucifixion. We now turn to an investigation of the chronological notices found in our primary source, the Pauline Epistles.

¹ J. Finegan, op. cit., pp. 299ff., "...the death of Jesus took place on the same day as the slaying of the passover lambs in official Jerusalem practice, namely on the fourteenth day of Nisan, a calendar date which in that year fell on a Friday. Given these two facts, that the crucifixion was on Nisan 14 and on a Friday, it is possible by astronomical and calendrical calculation to determine the years, within the probable range of years in question, in which the Jewish calendar date of Nisan 14 would fall on the day of the week which we call Friday. The result of this investigation is that the two dates which are possible, astronomically and calendrically, for the crucifixion are: Friday, Apr. 7, A.D. 30, and Friday, Apr. 3, A.D. 33."

² It would greatly simplify Pauline chronology if we could accept Friday, the 7th of April, A.D. 30 as the date of the Crucifixion because as we shall see later, the only other relatively fixed date is that of Paul's appearance before Gallio in A.D. 51 (See Chap. XV). Dating the Crucifixion in A.D. 33 makes it more difficult to adjust some of the events of Paul's life within these dates. Probably the greatest difficulty presented by this date is that it leaves little time for the growth of the church as depicted in Acts 2-9, that is if we assign Paul's conversion to A.D. 34.

PART THREE

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES
IN THE EPISTLES

CHAPTERS VIII - X

CHAPTER VIII

THE THREE YEARS OF GALATIANS 1:18

Synopsis

Galatians 1:18.

Map - Paul's Ministry - Acts 9:30-11:25.

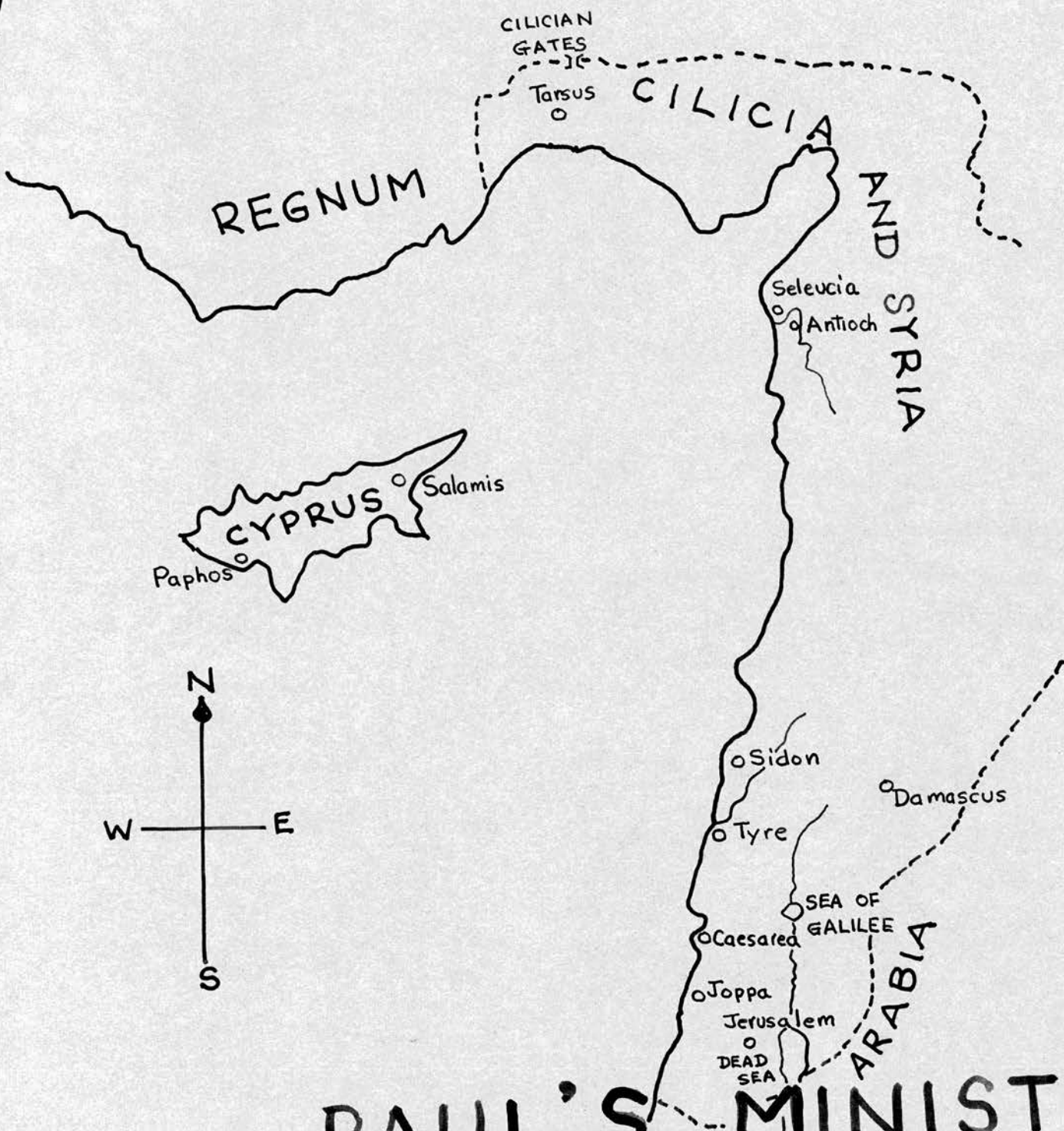
II Cor. 11:32.

(A.D. 37-A.D. 44).

From what point of time are the three years to be reckoned?

Date of Paul's Conversion, c. A.D. 34/35.

Date of First Visit to Jerusalem, c. A.D. 36/37.



PAUL'S MINISTRY

ACTS 9:30-11:25

II COR. 11:32

A.D. 37 - A.D. 44

CHAPTER VIII

THE THREE YEARS OF GALATIANS 1:18

Galatians 1:18

The first chronological note given by Paul occurs in the first chapter of Galatians:

Ἐπειτα μετὰ τρία ἔτη ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν,
καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε.

From What Point of Time Are the Three Years to be Reckoned?

This passage raises some questions: From what point of time are the three years to be reckoned? Is Paul referring to his conversion or his return to Damascus following his time in Arabia? Most scholars are agreed that Paul is counting the three years from the great event of his life, his conversion.

The Date of Paul's Conversion

The date of Paul's conversion¹ is determined by two factors: (i) the date of the Crucifixion and (ii) the time allowed for the development of the Christian community in Acts 1-7. There is no chronological reference in our sources which gives us the space of time which elapsed between these two events. As we have seen varieties of opinion exist among scholars concerning the date of the Crucifixion and the date of Paul's conversion will rest upon the individual scholar's opinion concerning

¹ There are four possible references to Paul's conversion in the Epistles: Gal. 1:15-16, I Cor. 9:1 and 15:8, II Cor. 4:6 and II Cor. 12:2. Luke in Acts gives three accounts of Paul's Experience: Acts 9: 1-19, 22:4-14, 26:12-16.

that date. The question which concerns us now is the period of time which elapsed between the Crucifixion and Paul's conversion. Some scholars think that one year or less is sufficient for the growth of the Early Church as described in Acts 1-9 and especially Acts 6:1 (e.g. A. von Harnack). For this period $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 years was thought to be necessary by one notable scholar (e.g. W. M. Ramsay). Others feel that at least five or six years must be allowed for these developments (e.g. W. L. Knox). It is noteworthy that at least three significant developments in the Christian community took place during this interval. (i) The earlier practice of holding goods in common (Acts 4:32f.) had now given way to an organized system of daily relief. (ii) The twelve were no longer able to cope with the requests for relief made upon them and they delegated this task to others (Acts 6:1ff.). This presupposes that a list of those eligible for relief had been drawn up. (iii) Two distinct groups had grown up within the community itself--the Hellenists and the Hebrews. Since we are given no chronological notice as to the length of time which elapsed during this development we shall be governed in dating Paul's conversion by calculating backward from some other event. In any case one year could be sufficient time for the developments listed above. A. J. Maclean and F. C. Grant state that "there is no positive internal evidence as to the length of this period.... It is quite probable that in the early chapters of Acts the author had not the same exact information that he had for St. Paul's travels or even for his Gospel (see Luke 1:2ff.)."¹ We may tentatively conclude at this point in our study that

¹ A. J. Maclean & F. C. Grant, "Chronology of the New Testament", Dictionary of the Bible (ed. by F. C. Grant & H. H. Rowley), (1963), p. 155.

Paul's conversion took place in c. A.D. 34/35. The εὐθέως of Galatians 1:16 leads naturally to the conclusion that Paul is now taking up his argument again in the Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία of v. 18. Thus Bonnard¹ writes: "Ces trois ans doivent se calculer non depuis le retour à Damas (17b) mais depuis la conversion de l'apôtre." What length of time does Paul imply by the words μετὰ ἔτη τρία ? The phrase is probably a round number (cf. Acts 20:31). Paul is probably using the Jewish system of numbering, which must not be confused with our own. By the ancient system the year (month or day) which marked the starting point was reckoned in the total; i.e. counting from Paul's conversion in c. A.D. 34/35 μετὰ ἔτη τρία would bring us to c. A.D. 36/37 and not A.D. 37/38 as by the modern method. This "inclusive" method of calculating time must be kept in mind for all subsequent reckonings of Pauline chronology. We conclude that Paul probably made his first visit to Jerusalem in c. A.D. 36/37, which was "two years" after his conversion by the Jewish system of reckoning (see p. 105).

¹ P. Bonnard, L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates, Paris & Neuchâtel, Delachaux & Niestle, S.A., (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, IX), 1952, p. 32.

CHAPTER IX

THE REFERENCE TO ARETAS

Synopsis

II Cor. 11:32; Acts 9:25.

How long did Aretas reign?

Evidence of inscriptions and coins.

Conclusion.

Paul escaped from Damascus in A.D. 37.

CHAPTER IX

THE REFERENCE TO ARETAS

Some scholars believe that a valuable clue for Paul's chronology is provided in his reference to Aretas which is also implied by Luke's account. Paul escaped from Damascus during the office of an ethnarch of King Aretas IV.

ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρει τὴν πόλιν Δαμασκηνῶν πιάσαι με, καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ ἐχάλασθην διὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.
(II Corinthians 11:32)

παρετηροῦντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὥπως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν· λαβόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθῆκαν αὐτὸν χαλάσαντες ἐν σπυρίδι. (Acts 9:25)

How Long Did Aretas Reign? Evidence of Inscriptions and Coins.

Aretas was the fourth Nabataean king to bear this name.¹ The beginning of his reign cannot be established with absolute certainty but scholars place it c. 9 B.C. The length of Aretas' reign can be established

¹ For the chronology of this dynasty see E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ, I, ii., p. 348ff. Cf. J. Starcky, "The Nabataeans: A Historical Sketch", Biblical Archaeologist, XVIII, (1955), pp. 84-106.

from the evidence of inscriptions and coins. D. Plooij, the Dutch scholar, cites an interesting Aramaic inscription:

שנת ארבעין ותמונא לחרתת מלך נבטן רחם עמה

"Forty and eight years reigned Harithath, King of Nabataea, the friend of his people."¹ Thus if Aretas began to reign in the year 9 B.C. and reigned for forty-eight years, his reign must have ended in A.D. 39 or 38 by the ancient system of numbering.²

The evidence of coins found at Damascus indicates that the city was under Roman administration in A.D. 33 and 34, and again in A.D. 62 and 63.³ These coins bear the heads of Tiberius and Nero respectively.⁴ If the city had been in the hands of Aretas during these years (A.D. 33-34) then it is surprising that the inscriptions on these coins do not bear some reference to the local prince according to Roman practice. Just how Aretas came into possession of the city, if in fact he did, is uncertain. If he gained control by military conquest then it is difficult to explain why the Nabataean dynasty was left unmolested by the Roman government until as late as A.D. 106. On the other hand, if Aretas received the city by friendly cession on the part of Rome,⁵ then the grant must have been made

¹ As quoted by Plooij from Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, pars. II, 214, 215. Plooij, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 6. See also Schürer, op. cit., I, ii. p. 359. In all copies of Plooij that I have seen $\overline{\text{מלך}}$ is badly printed, appearing as $\overline{\text{מלר}}$.

² E. Haenchen says that the date of the death of Aretas cannot be dated more precisely than A.D. 40. Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 54.

³ K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, V. London: Macmillan & Co., p. 193. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 53, n. 20.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ This argument is well presented by Wieseler, Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1848, p. 167ff.

by Caligula (Caius) since Tiberius, upon the instigation of Herod Antipas, had ordered Vitellius to take military action against Aretas. Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37 and the news of his death was brought to Vitellius as he was on his way to attack Aretas.¹ Caligula came to power in the same year. It is therefore unlikely that Damascus came under the jurisdiction of Aretas before that date.

There is one further piece of negative evidence. Coins minted under Tiberius and again under Nero bear the imperial insignia, but to date no coins have been discovered in Damascus for the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, i.e. from A.D. 37 to A.D. 54.² This is the only fact in support of Aretas being in possession of Damascus and, as Kirsopp Lake has remarked, it "may at any moment cease to be one...."³ He might with equal truth have said: "At any moment the theory that Caligula gifted Damascus to Aretas may be confirmed!"

Conclusion

From the above discussion we conclude: (i) That Aretas cannot have gained control of Damascus earlier than A.D. 37. (ii) That Paul's escape from the ethnarch⁴ of Aretas must have taken place about this time. Therefore, if we place the date of Paul's conversion in c. A.D. 34/35 and his escape from Damascus "three years later" (two years according to the

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, xviii. v. 1, 3.

² Lake, op. cit., p. 193; W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 53, f.n. 20. Cf. J. Starcky, op. cit., p. 98; E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 54, f.n. 1.

³ Lake, Ibid.

⁴ For the use of "ethnarch" instead of "governor" see E. Schürer, "Der Ethnarch des Königs Aretas, 2 Kor. 11, 32", Theologische Studien und Kritiken, LXXII, (1899), pp. 95ff.

ancient Jewish method of reckoning) this will bring us to c. A.D. 36/37 and agrees with the evidence of Gal. 1:18 on the assumption that after escaping from Damascus Paul went more or less directly to Jerusalem. John Knox¹ thinks (so did Plooij long before) that Paul's departure from Damascus could not have taken place later than A.D. 40. This date provides the terminus ad quem for Paul's escape from Damascus. We conclude that Paul's escape from the "commissioner" of King Aretas at Damascus is associated with his first visit to Jerusalem since both events, according to our calculations, took place in c. A.D. 37. The terminus a quo for Paul's flight from Damascus is accordingly A.D. 37, as the evidence does not show Aretas in control of Damascus before this date.

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 77, f.n. 2.

CHAPTER X

THE "FOURTEEN YEARS" OF GALATIANS 2:1

Synopsis

From which event is this chronological note to be reckoned?

The reason why the exact interval cannot be calculated.

Lightfoot's argument.

Ramsay's argument.

Table 6. Greek Numerals.

The Greek text supports either argument.

Conclusion.

The second visit to Jerusalem took place in c. A.D. 47.

Table 7. From Paul's Conversion to Second Visit to
Jerusalem.

CHAPTER X

THE "FOURTEEN YEARS" OF GALATIANS 2:1

From Which Event is this Chronological Note to be Reckoned?

Once more, as in Galatians 1:18 the question arises as to the event from which this time is to be reckoned. Are the "fourteen" years to be calculated from Paul's conversion ($3 + 11 = 14$)? or from his previous visit to Jerusalem ($3 + 14 = 17$)? In other words, is the interval in question 14 or 17 years?

The Reason Why the Exact Interval Cannot be Calculated.

Lightfoot's Argument

Lightfoot¹ preferred the longer chronology on the grounds that (i) the stress of Paul's argument depended on the length of the interval since he had last seen the apostles in Jerusalem and (ii) individual expressions in the passage tend to support the longer interval; e.g. the use of $\delta\iota\alpha$ rather than $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ implies that so far as Paul's intercourse with the Jerusalem apostles was concerned the whole interval was a blank. Also, the words $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\beta\eta\nu$ refer back to the previous visit as the date from which the time should be reckoned.

Ramsay's Argument

¹ Lightfoot, Biblical Essays, London: Macmillan & Co., 1893, p. 221. Conybeare & Howson, op. cit., I, p. 438, had previously adopted this argument.

Ramsay¹ adopted the shorter chronology and argued that: (i) these numbers must be interpreted with reference to the epoch-making event of Paul's life--his conversion; (ii) if Paul could reasonably have used the number "seventeen" he would have done so since his object was to impress his readers with the length of his absence from the Apostles.

The Greek Text Supports Either Argument

The Greek Text will support either chronological scheme² though W. L. Knox³ claims that the language can be more naturally understood to mean that the second visit took place fourteen years after the first. The conclusions of Lightfoot and Ramsay are representative of the two possible interpretations of Galatians 2:1. The determining factor as to which scheme is to be adopted is the date fixed for Paul's conversion (see Chronological Chart). Bonnard in his recent commentary L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates states: "Il y a deux possibilités: quatorze ans après sa conversion, ou quatorze ans après la première "montée" à Jérusalem (ἀνέβην cf. ad. 1. 17 ἀνῆλθον). Avec raison, presque tous les commentateurs modernes préfèrent cette seconde hypothèse...."⁴ But this

¹ W. Ramsay, A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899, p. 271.

² C. H. Turner, op. cit., p. 424.

³ W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, Cambridge: University Press, 1925, p. 188, f.n. 14.

⁴ P. Bonnard, L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates, p. 36.

is a generalization. Cadoux,¹ Bruce² and Ogg,³ to name only a few, are modern scholars who prefer the inclusive reckoning. J. Knox avoids the difficulty of the "fourteen years" by dating the visit to Jerusalem and the writing of Galatians late. But this involves largely ignoring the statements of Acts. The most desperate attempt to untie the knot is that proposed by Lake⁴ who suggests that the Greek word δεκατεσσαρων (fourteen) depends on the accuracy of one iota. In Greek numerals the only difference between "four" and "fourteen" is one stroke of the pen.⁵

Thus - $\Delta\iota\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\omega\nu = \delta\iota\alpha\ \iota\delta'\epsilon\tau\omega\nu$
 $\Delta\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon\tau\omega\nu = \delta\iota\alpha\ \delta'\epsilon\tau\omega\nu$

($\iota = 10$ and $\delta = 4$ (see Table 6), p. 148)

This device may be rejected because it necessitates an unwarranted alteration of the Greek text ("fourteen" is the reading of all manuscripts).

The exact interval (14, 13 or 12 years) cannot be determined since by the Jewish method of reckoning, fractions of years were counted in the total. In order to determine this interval accurately we would have

¹ C. J. Cadoux, "A Tentative Synthetic Chronology of the Apostolic Age", Journal of Biblical Literature, (1937), p. 184. n.

² F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, London: The Tyndale Press, 1951, p. 241.

³ G. Ogg, op. cit., p. 260.

⁴ K. Lake & S. Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament, London: Christophers, 1938, p. 249f. Lake's chief concern is the length of time, 14 years. This he wishes to reduce. His primary concern is not whether one number includes or does not include the other.

⁵ This reconstruction was suggested by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). It is adopted by J. N. Sanders, Peake's Commentary on the Bible (1962), p. 975.

to know precisely when it began and when it ended; e.g. if it began on September 1st, A.D. 34 and ended on October 1st, A.D. 46, it could be referred to as an interval of fourteen years though only twelve years and one month had elapsed. The Jewish secular year, as we have seen, began on the 1st of Tishri. The interval, according to the longer chronology, is reckoned through fourteen secular years. If, on the other hand, it began on October 1st, A.D. 34 and ended on September 1st, A.D. 46, the interval could be reckoned as twelve years, though in fact only two months less than the previous example. The same method would apply if Paul were using the ecclesiastical year which began and ended on the 1st of Nisan. Therefore, since there is no way of determining the month in which Paul made his escape from Damascus, and since we do not know in which month he arrived in Jerusalem, we are at liberty to choose either the longer or the shorter interval (i.e. 14, 13 or 12 years).

Conclusion

The chief difficulty with the longer chronology is experienced by those who fix on a late date for Paul's conversion. Those who favour the 17-year total often reckon the 3-year period from Paul's conversion, and then using the other method count the 14-years' interval from his first visit to Jerusalem. But as Buck has pointed out: "Consistency demands either a total elapsed time of 14 years (dating all events from the conversion) or an undetermined total of $x + 3 + 14$, where x equals the unspecified time spent in Arabia. The 17-years' total is thus the least likely of all solutions."¹ We have concluded tentatively that the conversion took place around A.D. 34/35. The second visit to Jerusalem therefore

¹ C. H. Buck, Jr., "The Collection for the Saints", Harvard Theological Review, XLIII, (1950), p. 12, n. 14.

TABLE 6

GREEK NUMERALS

SMALL	NAME	CAPITAL	NUMBER	
α	alpha	A	1	A horizontal stroke or mark like an acute accent is placed above the letter to indicate that the letter is used as a number. e.g. $\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta} = 14$, $\bar{\omega}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha} = 821$.
β	beta	B	2	
γ	gamma	Γ	3	
δ	delta	Δ	4	
ϵ	epsilon	E	5	If the stroke is below the line and precedes the letter it indicates that the letter represents 1000 and above. e.g., $\epsilon\phi\nu\epsilon = 5555$. Years ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) is often abbreviated to L .
ς	vau <u>or</u> stigma <u>or</u> digamma	Σ (Υ)	6	
ζ	zeta	Z	7	
η	eta	H	8	
θ	theta	Θ	9	
ι	iota	I	10	
κ	kappa	K	20	
λ	lambda	Λ	30	
μ	mu	M	40	
ν	nu	N	50	
ξ	xi	Ξ	60	
\omicron	omicron	O	70	
π	pi	Π	80	
ρ	koppa	Φ	90	
ρ	rho	P	100	
$\sigma(\dots)$	sigma	Σ	200	
τ	tau	T	300	
υ	upsilon	Υ	400	
ϕ	phi	Φ	500	
χ	chi	X	600	
ψ	psi	Ψ	700	
ω	omega	Ω	800	
\aleph	sampi	\aleph	900	

occurred somewhere between A.D. 46 and 51 depending on whether the longer or shorter chronology for the "fourteen years" is adopted. Since there is no serious objection to the adoption of the shorter chronology on the grounds of textual evidence (even Lightfoot admits the possibility of the fourteen years being the interval between Paul's conversion and the second visit to Jerusalem),¹ and since it is consistent with the dates at which we have arrived on the basis of other evidence, we conclude that the shorter chronology is to be preferred, i.e. that the "fourteen years" are to be reckoned from Paul's conversion in c. A.D. 34/35.² Hence the second visit to Jerusalem would admit of being dated c. A.D. 47 (using

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, The Epistle to the Galatians, p. 102.

² John Knox has drawn attention to the two references to "fourteen years" in both Gal. 2:1 and II Cor. 12:2 as being the same and dating from Paul's conversion (Journal of Religion, XVI, (1936), pp. 341-349, and Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), pp. 15-29). In his later book Chapters in a Life of Paul he abandons this identification because as he says - "objections from many critics shook my conviction, and after no little vacillation I have come to agree with the majority that the description here does not fit well with other references to the conversion and therefore that the two intervals of fourteen years are probably a mere coincidence" (p. 78). We feel that these two references to "fourteen years" should not be lightly dismissed. If Paul is here (II Cor. 12:2) alluding to his conversion, as he well may be, then it is further confirmation of our conclusion that the "fourteen years" of Gal. 2:1 are to be dated from his conversion. But this cannot be made to square with our view that II Cor. 12 was written around A.D. 55 (see Table 17). Fourteen years prior to this would put this visionary experience around A.D. 41 which is too late for Paul's conversion. See M. S. Enslin, "Paul--What manner of Jew?", In Time of Harvest, (Festschrift in honour of Abba Hillel Silver), New York: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1963, pp. 159-160. Enslin thinks that II Cor. 12:1-6 probably refers to Paul's conversion and he dates it A.D. 40. D. W. Riddle also thinks that the two references to "fourteen years" are related to Paul's conversion. See D. W. Riddle, Paul, Man of Conflict, Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1940, pp. 201-11. Cf. J. Dupont, "Notes sur les Actes des Apôtres, V.--Chronologie Paulinienne", Revue Biblique, (1955), p. 57.

the ancient method of reckoning). It must be pointed out that this conclusion cannot be strongly stated and there is always the possibility that Paul arrived in Jerusalem as late as A.D. 51. Further than this we cannot go until we have considered other evidence which will be done in the chapters that follow.

We have now established three important dates from our investigation of the chronological notices found in Paul's Epistles: Paul's escape from Damascus (c. A.D. 37); Paul's first visit to Jerusalem (c. A.D. 37); and Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (c. A.D. 47). Now we turn to the data contained in the Acts of the Apostles to see if they will confirm the dates we have arrived at from our investigations of the notices in the Epistles and add to our knowledge of Pauline chronology.

TABLE 7

FROM PAUL'S CONVERSION TO SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM

A.D.		
33/34	Death of Christ	
34/35	Conversion of Saul (Acts 9)	
35/36		} 3 years
36/37	First visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18) ("after three years")	
37/38		} 11 years
38/39		
39/40		
40/41		
41/42		
42/43		
43/44		
44/45		
45/46		
46/47		
47/48	Second visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1) ("after fourteen years") and the Council at Jerusalem.	

PART FOUR

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES IN THE ACTS

CHAPTERS XI - XVII

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN AND DEATH OF HEROD AGRIPPA I

Synopsis

Acts 12:1-23. In what year did Herod Agrippa I die?
The evidence of Josephus.

Methods of Reckoning a King's Reign

- (1) From the date of accession?
- (2) From the beginning of the calendar year?
- (3) From the calendar year following accession?

Conclusion. Herod died in A.D. 44.

What was the Festival to which Josephus alluded?

- (1) Evidence of Acts 12:3.
- (2) Evidence of Dio Cassius.
- (3) Was it the quinquennalia?

Conclusion.

Numismatic evidence.

Madden's evidence. Reichardt's coins.

Conclusion.

Table 8. The Reign of Herod Agrippa I.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN AND DEATH OF HEROD AGRIPPA I

In What Year Did Herod Agrippa I Die?

The accounts of Herod Agrippa's attack upon the Church and his death are found in Acts 12:1-23. This evidence assists us in determining the date of Paul's visit to Jerusalem with the famine relief fund.¹

The Evidence of Josephus

Soon after the accession of Caligula (Gaius) on March 16, A.D. 37, Herod Agrippa, who was in prison in Rome at the time, was given the tetrarchy of Philip with the title of king. When he had reigned three years, i.e., in his fourth year (A.D. 40), he added the tetrarchy of Antipas to his domains and on the accession of Claudius (January 25, A.D. 41) a reconstitution of the kingdom took place and he added Judaea, Samaria and Abilene as well. According to Josephus² he reigned over Judaea for three years:

τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν
ἐν᾿ αὐτοῖς, τῆς φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν
ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς,
τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας,
ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειαν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν.

¹ E. Haenchen is of the opinion that these Lucan dates permit no precise chronological evaluation ("diese lukianischen Daten erlauben keine genaue chronologische Auswertung"). Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 55.

² Josephus, Antiquities, XIX. viii. 2.

Altogether he reigned as king for seven years over the tetrarchies and three years over the whole kingdom (See Table 8, p. 160). He died in "the seventh year of his reign". But the question is: What method of dating is Josephus using?

Methods of Reckoning a King's Reign

There are three¹ possible ways in which a king's reign might be counted: (1) The Factual Year Method--counting the actual date of the ruler's accession to its next anniversary as Year I. (2) The Accession Year Method--counting the part of the year from the accession of the ruler to the end of the current calendar year as simply the "accession year" and only the next full calendar year as Year I. (3) The Non-Accession Year Method--counting the part of the calendar year (no matter how brief) from the accession of the ruler to the end of the calendar year as Year I. It is generally admitted that this method of antedating was the one practised by Jewish historians.² Josephus is not consistent in his use of any of these methods since he usually adopts the method used in the source he is following at the time. In the case of Herod Agrippa's reign he seems to be using the Non-Accession Year Method. In A.D. 37 the I of Nisan (New Year) fell on April 6,³ the second year of Agrippa's reign therefore began on I of Nisan, A.D. 38 (March 26). Thus seven years counted from A.D. 37 (I Nisan) gives us A.D. 44.⁴

What was the Festival to which Josephus Alluded?

Josephus' Antiquities, XIX. 8. 2, informs us that the festival during which Herod's death took place was

εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας

¹ See K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, V, p. 446; also J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, p. 87ff. Cf. p. 100 of this thesis.

² The Accession Year Method may however have been practised in Judah from Manasseh to Zedekiah. See G. A. Barrois, "Chronology, Metrology, etc.", The Interpreter's Bible, I, (1953), p. 151.

³ See A. Parker & W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75, Providence: Brown University Press, 1956, p. 46.

⁴ See Table 8, p. 160.

(1) According to Acts 12:3, Peter's imprisonment took place during "the days of unleavened bread" (ἦσαν δὲ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁζύμων). But his imprisonment extended beyond the Passover. The Passover took place on the 15th of Nisan (or more accurately, on the evening that concluded the 14th day and began the 15th day) and for that day and seven days following it no leaven must be used, hence the "days of unleavened bread". Also, during that week it is probable that no trial or execution could be carried out. For this reason Herod kept Peter in prison "intending after the Πάσχα to bring him forth to the people" (Acts 12:4). We may assume, therefore, that Peter was kept in prison until after the Passover observances. Passover was celebrated on May 1 in the year A.D. 44.¹ There is no direct evidence in Acts to show that Peter's imprisonment took place in the year of Agrippa's death apart from the fact that Luke places the two events in the same narrative.

(2) Dio Cassius LX, 5. 3f., informs us that Claudius had given orders that his birthday was not to be celebrated with special observances. This would dispose of the argument of those who hold that the festival in question was a celebration in honour of the Emperor's birthday which fell on August 1st.² However, there is no certainty that Claudius gave these orders before A.D. 44.

(3) Others have argued that the reference in Josephus was to the quinquennialia established in 9 B.C. during the reign of Herod the Great and commencing on March 5, the foundation day of Caesaria. But according to

¹ A. Parker & W. H. Dubberstein, op. cit., p. 47. Haenchen cites the dating of Plooi that in A.D. 44 Nisan 15 fell on April 1st. E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 54.

² Suetonius, Claudius, 2.

the calculations of Plooij this event must have taken place in A.D. 43.¹

The festival during which Herod died therefore must have been some other festival than the three mentioned above. Plooij's suggestion that it was associated with the victory of Claudius over the Britons seems most plausible.² The campaign of Claudius against the Britons began in A.D. 43 and continued for some months. Altogether he was absent from Rome for six months. The victory, therefore, was not celebrated until Claudius' return during the consulship of Caius Passienus Crispus II and T. Statilius Taurus, i.e. before the 4th of May, A.D. 44.

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that since this agrees with the evidence of Acts 12:3f. that the Passover had just recently been celebrated, the death of Herod Agrippa took place in early May, A.D. 44. Luke's narrative suggests that soon after Herod's death Barnabas and Paul returned from Jerusalem having delivered the famine relief fund. We cannot assume, however, that because Luke links these two events closely in his narrative they are necessarily closely linked chronologically. Luke begins the account of the famine relief fund in Acts 11:27 where Agabus prophesied that there would be a great famine. This famine, the writer of Acts informs us, did actually take place during the days of Claudius Caesar. In anticipation of the famine the Church in Antioch began collecting a fund for the brethren who would be stricken in Judaea (Acts 11:29). Luke then interrupts his narrative to relate the story of Herod's persecution of

¹ D. Plooij, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 15f.

² Plooij, Ibid., p. 15f.

leaders in the Church and his horrible death (Acts 12:23). In Acts 12:25 he returns to his story of the Relief Fund. As was pointed out on p. 85 Cadoux argued that Acts 11:30 was chronologically linked with 12:25 and not with 12:1. The reign of Claudius extended roughly over the years A.D. 41-54. The famine relief visit could therefore have occurred at any time between these two dates. The "about that time" (κατ'ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν) of Acts 12:1 is not an exact chronological note and we can only conclude that it was some time (3 or 4 years) after Herod's death that Barnabas and Paul returned from Jerusalem (Acts 12:25). We have stated on pp. 149-150. that Paul's visit to Jerusalem with the famine relief fund would admit of being dated in c. A.D. 47. The evidence cited in this chapter supports that conclusion providing we accept the argument that Luke's narrative is not to be understood as chronologically accurate.

Numismatic Evidence

The only reason for doubting the evidence of Josephus that Herod Agrippa I died in A.D. 44 is that some scholars think it contradicts the evidence of Jewish coinage.

Madden's Evidence

F. W. Madden in Coins of the Jews describes the coins of Herod Agrippa I which do not bear the name of the Emperor:¹

Obverse

An umbrella encircled
with the words

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ



Reverse

Three ears of corn
springing from one
stalk and in the field
to the right and left
the date, (year 6)



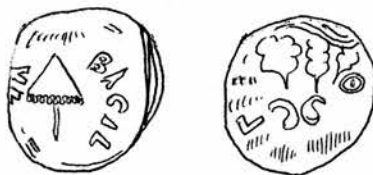
L. S

¹ F. W. Madden, Coins of the Jews, London: Trubner & Co., 1903, p. 131f. See also B. Kanael, "Ancient Jewish Coins and Their Historical Importance", Biblical Archaeologist, XXVI, (1963), p. 52. (Photographs of the coins are reproduced in this article).

Specimens of these coins have been found for his fifth, sixth and seventh years of reign. There is also one which may be dated in the fourth year of Agrippa's reign. But the evidence concerning this coin is somewhat uncertain.¹ It has the sign \perp 4 which is certainly not ς (in Greek the obsolete letter stigma (ς) was used to indicate the number 6) and may stand for 4. Madden says: "The engraver may have been a Jew, and for some unknown reason adopted this form for the numerical sign Δ ."² In Hebrew the daleth (\daleth) was used to indicate the number 4. In Greek the letter delta (Δ) is used for 4. All these coins agree with the dates of Agrippa's reign given by Josephus.

Reichardt's Coins

The difficulty arises over two coins dated in the eighth and ninth years of Herod Agrippa I. These coins were in the collection of B. C. Reichardt of Damascus, and surprising as it may seem, no one seems to know where they are now.³ Lake is quite certain that the evidence of these two coins, especially the one dated in the ninth year of Herod's reign ($\perp\theta$), contradicts the evidence of Josephus.



¹ Madden, Ibid., p. 132, f.n. 4.

² Ibid.

³ Lake, op. cit., p. 450.

He says: "Either Josephus is wrong, or the coin is a forgery."¹ We consider this to be an exaggeration of the difficulty. The opinion of Madden, who was an authority on numismatics, is in our judgment conclusive: "Whilst, however, admitting that there might exist a piece with the date L.H (year 8), and with greater improbability, a piece with the date L.Θ (year 9), I must again repeat 'that neither at Copenhagen nor at Vienna, not at Berlin, nor in the British Museum, nor in the Wigan Collection (and De Saulcy now adds, nor at Paris), is there a piece of Agrippa I with a higher numeral than 6 (L.Ϛ)'. "²

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that Herod Agrippa I began his reign in A.D. 37 (Spring) and that he reigned for seven years until the time of his death in A.D. 44 (Spring). This evidence as shown above is supported by the writings of Josephus and Jewish coins and enables us to fix Luke's reference in Acts 12:1-23.

¹ Ibid., p. 132, f.n. 4. A sketch of Madden's woodcut is reproduced above.

² Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Cf. A. Reifenberg, "Rare and Unpublished Jewish Coins", *Palestine Explorations Fund Quarterly*, LXVII, (1935), pp. 79-84 in which he writes of a cast of the specimen published by Madden and says the date can be faintly traced and refers to the eighth year (LH) of Agrippa's reign. The coin was struck at Caesarea where Agrippa went in A.D. 44 to celebrate the games in honour of the Emperor Claudius and died there (Acts 12:9; Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIX, 7). It bears the following inscription on the reverse side:

KAICAPIA HIPPOMI TΩCEBACTΩ AIM
LH

L.H = Year 8 (see Table 8). This coin disagrees with the evidence of Josephus that Herod Agrippa I reigned for seven years. It must have been struck in anticipation as Ogg has suggested. "Chronology of the New Testament", *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, (1962), p. 730.

TABLE 8THE REIGN OF HEROD AGRIPPA I

Non-Accession Year Method		Accession Year Method	
(accession of Gaius and Herod Agrippa I)			
Year 1	16 March 37 - 6 April 38	"Accession Year"	16 March 37 - 6 April 38
Year 2	6 April 38 - 1 Nisan 39	Year 1	6 April 38 - 1 Nisan 39
Year 3	1 Nisan 39 - 1 Nisan 40	Year 2	1 Nisan 39 - 1 Nisan 40
Year 4	1 Nisan 40 - 1 Nisan 41	Year 3	1 Nisan 40 - 1 Nisan 41
(accession of Claudius 25 Jan. 41)			
Year 5	1 Nisan 41 - 1 Nisan 42	Year 4	1 Nisan 41 - 1 Nisan 42
Year 6	1 Nisan 42 - 1 Nisan 43	Year 5	1 Nisan 42 - 1 Nisan 43
Year 7	1 Nisan 43 - 1 Nisan 44	Year 6	1 Nisan 43 - 1 Nisan 44
		Year 7	1 Nisan 44 - to his death
(Herod died around Passover 44)			

According to Josephus Antiq. XIX. viii. 2 Herod Agrippa I reigned for seven years in all--four under Gaius (Caligula) and three under Claudius. Eusebius in his Chronicle (as translated by Jerome) follows the Accession Year Method. Both Eusebius and Josephus agree that Herod Agrippa I died in A.D. 44.

CHAPTER XII

THE FAMINE UNDER CLAUDIUS

Synopsis

Acts 11:28 and 12:25.

When did the famine take place?

The evidence of Josephus.

(1) The references to Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander.

(2) The reference to Queen Helena of Adiabene.

Conclusion. The terminus a quo for the famine is A.D. 46.

The terminus ad quem - c. A.D. 48.

This coincides with the visit of Paul to Jerusalem in Galatians 2:1.

CHAPTER XII

THE FAMINE UNDER CLAUDIUS

ἀναστὰς δὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος ἐσήμαινεν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου (Acts 11:28).

Βαρναβᾶς δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν ἐξ (ἀπό, εἰς) Ἱερουσαλὴμ, πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν, συμπαραλαβόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον (Acts 12:25).

When Did the Famine Take Place?

According to Acts 11:28 Agabus prophesied a famine which would take place throughout all the earth (ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην).¹ This famine, Luke informs us, did actually occur during the reign of Claudius.² In response to the prophecy of Agabus the disciples in Antioch determined to send relief to their brethren in Judaea. This they did by the hands of Barnabas and Paul (Acts 11:30). At this point Luke interrupts his

¹ C. C. Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts, p. 20f., thinks this is due to a misunderstanding of the Aramaic ܠܐܪܥܐ (=Heb. ארץ "land, earth") which the translator rendered ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη "all the earth". He limits the significance of the phrase to Judaea. K. S. Gapp, "The Universal Famine Under Claudius", Harvard Theological Review, XXVIII, 1935, 258-265 clearly demonstrates that the famine extended throughout the Mediterranean world. E. Haenchen says that such a world-wide famine never occurred. Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 55, f.n. 4. M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, pp. 147ff. rejects Torrey's claims. Moreover if this is a "We-passage" (see p. 25) then as Wilcox says "his suggestion would in turn lose further weight". Ibid., p. 148.

² Knox thinks this reference to Claudius belongs in the same category with the reference to Quirinius in Luke 2:2. He regards them both as inaccurate, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 81. See p. 192, f.n. 1.

narrative in order to sketch in the background of events in Jerusalem "about that time" (κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν). At Acts 12:25 he resumes his narrative and describes the return of Paul and Barnabas from¹ Jerusalem after their commission was fulfilled. It would appear from Luke's statement that Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem with the famine relief fund soon after or shortly before the death of Herod Agrippa I.

The Evidence of Josephus

In the previous chapter we have concluded that Herod died in A.D. 44. The famine could not have begun until the following year because: (1) Josephus² dates it during the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (c. 44-48). (2) Josephus also tells us that about the beginning of the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus, Queen Helena of Adiabene, who along with her son Izates had become a convert to Judaism, prepared to make a pilgrimage to the temple at Jerusalem. At this point Josephus digresses to relate the account of the revolt and death of Theudas. When he takes up the narrative again concerning Queen Helena, Tiberius Alexander is procurator and it is in his time that the great famine in Judaea takes place and Queen Helena brings relief. She was able to get corn from Egypt

¹ The reading of the "Neutral" text is "to" (εἰς). See pp. 25, 234.

² Josephus, Antiquities, XX, v. 2. Whether it occurred during the reign of both procurators or only one of them depends on the interpretation of ἐν τούτοις . For a discussion of this phrase see J. Jeremias, "Sabbathjahr und neutestamentliche Chronologie", Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXVII (1928), 98, n. 4. See also T. Corbishley, "The Chronology of New Testament Times", A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., (1953), p. 847.

for this purpose. Papyri discovered at Tebtunis indicate that there was a famine in Egypt in A.D. 45.¹ Queen Helena then could not have purchased corn from Egypt in A.D. 45. We must conclude that the famine in Egypt was over and that Helena brought her relief about Passover A.D. 46 or 47.² While it is not possible to determine accurately the succession of Tiberius Alexander it is generally conjectured to be c. A.D. 46-48. Thus Plooij writes: "The famine in Palestine, according to Josephus, broke out in the days of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, in \pm 46." (De hongersnooden in Palestina moet blijkens Josephus zijn uitgebroken tijdens Fadus en Tiberius Alexander te weten \pm 46).³ (3) The famine could hardly have begun before the death of Herod in A.D. 44 because at that time he made peace with the Phoenicians and one of the clauses of the settlement was that Judaea should supply food. This term could hardly have been complied with if Judaea was itself perishing of famine.⁴ The appointment of Tiberius Alexander may provide the clue for the year in which the famine reached its peak. Tiberius Alexander was a remarkable man, a nephew of Philo of Alexandria.⁵ He had a distinguished career and eventually became prefect

¹ See Gapp, "The Universal Famine Under Claudius", Harvard Theological Review, XXVIII, (1935), p. 258ff.

² In A.D. 46 Passover fell on April 10 and in A.D. 47 on April 29. See Parker and Dubberstein, op. cit., p. 47.

³ D. Plooij, op. cit., p. 19. See also, Jeremias, loc. cit., p. 98, and Haenchen, p. 55, n. 4.

⁴ W. J. Conybeare & J. S. Howson, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, II, p. 572.

⁵ Josephus, Antiquities, XX. v. 2.

of Egypt,¹ a post which he held at the time of Nero's death² in A.D. 68. He was a renegade Jew of Alexandria but an extremely competent officer whose appointment may have been due to the fact that his ability was recognized as being able to cope with the famine situation.³ If this is the case then he probably held office towards the end of the famine, i.e. c. A.D. 48.⁴

Both Dio Cassius and Tacitus refer to famines in their writings but the dates which they give are too early or too late for the famine in question.⁵ Suetonius also refers to the famine and says that Claudius took the risk of ordering the grain ships to bring relief in winter. The storms never came and his daring plan was a success. Unfortunately Suetonius gives no note of the date.⁶

¹ Josephus, Bellum Judaicum, II. xviii. 7.

² Tacitus, History, I. xi.

³ See W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 186, n. 8.

⁴ T. Corbishley thinks that this date is three years too late. The famine visit is "so intimately associated with the death of Agrippa that I find it hard to separate the two events by as much as three years". B. Orchard, "A New Solution of the Galatians Problem", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 28, (1944), 154-157, has gathered together all the authorities for the view that the Famine Relief Visit occurred in A.D. 46/47. E. Haenchen also agrees that it occurred after the death of Herod. E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 56 writes: "Diese Katastrophe trat also erst mehrere Jahre nach dem Tod des Herodes Agrippa ein."

⁵ Dio Cassius, LX, ii. 1., mentions a famine in Rome in A.D. 41-43. Tacitus, Annals, XII, xliii., mentions a famine which occurred in A.D. 51-52. See Haenchen, p. 55, note 4.

⁶ Suetonius, Claudius, xviii.

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that the terminus a quo for the famine under Claudius was A.D. 46 and the terminus ad quem was A.D. 48. The above discussion does not enable us to determine with any degree of exactness the date of the famine. It probably extended over several years and reached its peak in A.D. 48. This date is supported by the conclusion reached in Chapter X that Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1-10) took place about A.D. 47.¹ This matter will be further considered when we discuss the question of the visits to Jerusalem in Galatians and Acts, (Part V).

¹ Jeremias' thesis that the famine coincided with the Sabbath Year in A.D. 47-48 is noteworthy. It will be readily observed that this seven-year cycle of Sabbath years is a useful clue to the determining of other events in Pauline chronology, e.g. the Apostolic Council (Acts 15 and Gal. 2); the "Collection" Journey (Acts 11:27-30); and Final Journey to Jerusalem (Acts 21). The hardships caused by the observance of the Sabbath Year explain Paul's urgency concerning the "Collection" and his desire to be present in Jerusalem for "the Feast" (Acts 20:16). But it seems to us that this scheme of viewing Pauline chronology on the basis of the "Sabbath Year" motif is arbitrary. Moreover, I am not aware that there is evidence for the observance of a Sabbath Year in Palestine at this time. Jeremias argues that the year A.D. 47-48 was a Sabbath year in which the fields lay fallow. In the summer of A.D. 47 the crops failed thereby sharpening the famine and lengthening it out to the next harvest in the spring of A.D. 49. This calamity must have occurred several years after the famine in the reign of Claudius referred to in Acts 11:28. Haenchen, (*op. cit.*, p. 56) simply quotes Jeremias uncritically on this question.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EDICT OF CLAUDIUS BANISHING THE JEWS FROM ROME

ARRIVAL OF PAUL IN CORINTH

Synopsis

Acts 18:2. What was the date of this edict under Claudius?

Evidence of Suetonius and Dio Cassius.

Evidence of Orosius.

Evidence of Tacitus.

Conclusion. Paul arrived in Corinth at the end of 49 or
early 50 (midwinter A.D. 49/50).

Note. The Theory of John Knox.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EDICT OF CLAUDIUS BANISHING THE JEWS FROM ROME ARRIVAL OF PAUL IN CORINTH

Acts 18:1, 2. What was the Date of This Edict under Claudius?
Evidence of Suetonius and Dio Cassius.

Luke informs us that when Paul left Athens and arrived in Corinth he made the acquaintance of Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:1, 2). These Christians (it is difficult to suppose that they were still Jews)¹ had recently (προσφάτως) arrived from Italy. They had been expelled from Rome under an edict of Claudius. Suetonius² confirms Luke's statement. He says: "Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit" - "The Jews he expelled from Rome for continuously rioting under the instigation of Chrestus."³ Unfortunately, Suetonius does not give us any date

¹ See W. L. Knox, St. Paul, p. 260, n. 24. Cf. Conybeare & Howson, op. cit., 1, p. 359, who think that Aquila and Priscilla had not yet been converted to Christianity and argue that Paul's acquaintance with them was due to the sharing of a common trade and not a common religion.

² Suetonius, Claudius, xxv. 4.

³ Christus and Chrestus were pronounced alike in Latin. However there is some doubt as to whether they were so in the first century. How they were pronounced in Greek is perhaps more relevant. In the first century they were probably pronounced alike: certainly there was no very great difference.

for this edict.¹ Dio Cassius² refers to the edict (we assume it was the same one) and says τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὖθις ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. One explanation of the divergence between the accounts of Suetonius and Dio Cassius is that Claudius altered the decree to prohibiting assemblies for public worship. In practice this would amount to expulsion. Dio Cassius dates this edict at the commencement of Claudius' reign in A.D. 41. This date, however, is far too early for Paul's arrival in Corinth and conflicts with the pro-Jewish edicts of that time given by Josephus.³

Evidence of Orosius

Orosius,⁴ writing much later in A.D. 417 gives the date of the edict as the ninth year of Claudius. "Anno eiusdem (sc. Claudii) nono expulsos per Claudium urbe Iudaeos Iosephus refert, sed ne magis Suetonius movet qui ait hoc modo: Claudius Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." The ninth year of Claudius is dated from January

¹ H. J. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History, p. 115 writes: "But much can be said for dating the expulsion earlier in about A.D. 41 the first year of Claudius' reign. This would be a natural inference from the reference in Suetonius. It would account for the absence of any reference to the event in our text of Tacitus' Annals, since his account of the years 37 to 47 is missing. Such a date would make any reference to Christians in the passage more unlikely."

² Dio Cassius, lx. 6. 6.

³ Josephus, Antiquities, XIX. v. 3.

⁴ Orosius, Historia contra Paganos, vii. 6. 15

25th, A.D. 49 to January 24, A.D. 50.¹ (Table 9^{p.211}). However, some suspicion has been attached to this evidence because Orosius professes to be quoting from Josephus whose extant writings make no mention of the expulsion at all. The date given by Orosius is confirmed, as we shall see later (Chapter XV), by the Gallio inscription but his evidence taken alone is suspect. Either he had access to writings of Josephus unknown to us or he misquoted someone else's authority for his statement.

Evidence of Tacitus

Tacitus in his Annals is also silent on this matter though he writes concerning part of Claudius' reign, i.e. from A.D. 47-54.² It has been noted by Tacitus that Claudius carried out a general anti-oriental policy and also prosecuted people who consulted astrologers. The senatus consultum atrox et irritum for the expulsion of the astrologers from Italy is assigned by Tacitus to the beginning of A.D. 52.³

Conclusions

In spite of the fact that we cannot fix this date with absolute certainty but in view of (i) the evidence of Suetonius that the Jews were expelled from Rome for causing religious disturbances; (ii) the statements of Orosius which support the evidence of Acts 18:1 that this expulsion took place during the reign of Claudius and more specifically (though Acts

¹ W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, p. 68, thinks that Orosius has confused "calendar years" with "years of reign" and is always a year behind in his chronology of Claudius. He therefore prefers to date the edict in A.D. 50.

² Tacitus wrote about the whole reign of Claudius but the early part is lost.

³ Tacitus, Annals, XII. 52; cf. XII. 59.

does not mention this) during his ninth year, i.e. A.D. 49 (Table 9);
 (iii) and since Paul met Aquila and Priscilla upon his arrival in Corinth, which we have dated in the midwinter of A.D. 49/50 (Chapters XV and XXIV); it seems to us that Paul probably arrived in Corinth at the end of A.D. 49 or early in A.D. 50--the midwinter of A.D. 49/50.

NOTE

The Theory of John Knox.

John Knox, because he rejects the evidence of Acts, argues that "it is highly probable" that Paul was in Corinth not long after A.D. 41.¹ But as Kirsopp Lake has said concerning the Edict of Claudius banishing the Jews from Rome: "It must be admitted that if there were no reason to the contrary it would probably be put down to A.D. 41. Acts, however, distinctly says that Aquila and Priscilla had 'recently' (προσφάτως) arrived from Italy, and 41 is far too early to be a conceivable date for Paul in Corinth."²

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, pp. 82ff. For a fuller discussion of Knox's proposed scheme see Part V of this thesis.

² K. Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, V, p. 459. See H. J. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History, p. 93.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF SERGIUS PAULUS

Synopsis

Acts 13:7.

Inscription published by Gatti in 1887.

Inscription published by Cesnola in 1877.

What System of Reckoning is being used?

Inscription erected in honour of the wife of Paulus Fabius
Maximus.

Two Cypriot inscriptions quoted by Plooij.

Inscription on a sarcophagus published by Cesnola.

Another Cypriot inscription.

Conclusion. Evidence inconclusive. Terminus ad quem for
Sergius Paulus as proconsul of Cyprus - A.D. 51.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF SERGIUS PAULUS

Acts 13:7 "... ὅς ῥ' ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ,
ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ".

Inscription Published by Gatti in 1887.

Two inscriptions have been discovered in Cyprus which some scholars have suggested enable us to determine the dates of the term in office of Sergius Paulus. The first is a Latin inscription found on a boundary stone. This inscription was first published by Gatti in 1887.¹

PAVLLVS FABIVS PERSTI (cus
C. EGGIVS MARVLL (us
L. SERGIVS PAVLLVS
C. OBELLIYVS RV (fus
L. SCRIBONIV (s Libo
CVRATORE (s riparum
ET ALV (ei Tiberis
EX AVCTORIT (ate
TI CLAVDI CAESARIS
AVG. GERMANIC (i
PRINCIPIIS. S (ui
RIPAM. CIPPIS POS (itis
TERMINAVERUNT A. TR (ig) AR
AD PONTEM AGRIPPA (e

¹ Gatti, "Di un nuovo cippo terminale delle ripe del Tevere," Bulletino comunale, XV, (1887), pp. 306-313. As cited by D. Plooij, Ibid., pp. 21-22.

Gatti thought that this boundary stone was erected when Claudius became Censor, i.e. A.D. 47. Most scholars, including Plooij, are of the opinion that little significance can be attached to this inscription.

Inscription Published by Cesnola in 1877.

The second inscription in which a certain Apollonius consecrates a monument to his father and mother is in Greek and was discovered at Soli and published by Cesnola in 1877.¹

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΤΩ ΠΑΤ [ρὶ τῷ δεῖνι τοῦ δεῖνος
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΑΡΤ [εμιδώρα τοῦ δεῖνος καθιερώσε
 ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ [στήλην? ταύτην κατὰ] ΤΑΣ
 ΥΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΛΑΣ.....
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΣΟΛΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ, [ἄγορα] ΝΟ [μήσας] ἔ-
 ΠΑΡΧΗΣΑΣ ΓΡΑ (μ) ΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΣ ΑΡΧΙΕ [ρασάμενος, ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ΒΥΒΛΙΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ • ΛΤΓ [μηνὸς δημαρχε-
 ΖΟΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΙΜΗΤΕΥΣΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛ[ὴν δι-
 [ἄ] ΕΞ[ετ]ΑΣΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ [ἀνθυ-
 ΠΑΤΟΥ.

There is, according to Hogarth, a faulty alignment in the last two lines (τιμητεύσας τὴν βουλὴν διὰ ἐξεταστῶν ἐπὶ Πάυλου ἀνθυπάτου). In the inscription a difference in the lettering points to a later addition.²

What System of Reckoning is Being Used?

¹ Cesnola, Cyprus, its Cities, Tombs and Temples, London: 1877. As cited by Plooij, Ibid., p. 23.

² Hogarth, Devia Cypria, 1882, p. 114. As cited by Plooij, Ibid., p. 23. Haenchen cites the edition of 1889 but to the same page, op. cit., p. 57, f.n. 1.

This inscription is dated: 25 Demarchexousios of the year $\epsilon\gamma$ i.e. 13 (see Table 6). But the question is: What system of reckoning is being used? There are three possible systems of reckoning:

(I) It could be a system of reckoning from the year in which Cyprus became a Roman province, i.e. the year 58 B.C. in which it was taken from Ptolemy Auletes by Rome and later made a separate province.¹

(II) It could be a system of reckoning from the year in which Cyprus changed its status from an Imperial to a Senatorial province, i.e. the year 27 B.C. or the year 22 B.C. Paulus Fabius Maximus was consul in the year 11 B.C., and proconsul of Asia in the year 4 B.C. However, it is doubtful whether he is the person referred to in the inscription although Haenchen thinks that he may have been.² If he is then he must have been proconsul of Cyprus in 10 B.C. (i.e. 13 years after 22 B.C.). An inscription erected in honour of his wife by the people of Paphos seems to imply that he did hold office:

ΜΑΡΚΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΑΝΕΨΙΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΠΑΦΟΥ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣ.

There are two objections to making use of the evidence of this inscription. (i) Whereas the Paphos inscription implies that Paulus Fabius Maximus was proconsul it does not state that he was proconsul of Cyprus. But since it comes from Paphos it would surely only refer to his proconsulship in Cyprus. (ii) If Paulus Maximus is the person referred to in the

¹ Strabo, Geography, XIV. vi. 6.

² Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 57, f.n. 1.

Soli inscription it is unusual that he is the only official designated by his first name. However, the Council (βουλή) of Paphos would not put up an inscription of this kind (i.e. the Paphos inscription) in relation to the proconsul of anywhere else and it is to be noted that the inscription is in honour of Marcia and not of her husband. (III) It could be a system of reckoning from the year of an emperor's reign. Plooij quotes two inscriptions from Cyprus where the year number is used to designate the tribunate year of the reigning emperor.¹

Αὐτοκράτορα] ΝΕΡΟΥΑΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
 Σεβαστὸν ἄριστο]Ν ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ
 Νερούα] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΓ.

Plooij quotes the second inscription as follows:²

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ
 ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ
 ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
 ΠΑΤΡΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ. ΚΟΥΡΙΕΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ
 ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
 ΚΟΡΔΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΝΝΙΟΣ ΒΑΣ[κος ἀνθ]Υ
 ΠΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ ΛΤΒ.

This inscription is dated A.D. 52. If the number in the Soli inscription designates the year of Claudius' reign then 13 = A.D. 52.³ But Plooij does not think that Sergius Paulus was proconsul in that year since it follows from the inscription quoted above (Corpus Inscr. Graec. 2632) that in the

¹ D. Plooij, Ibid., p. 24, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, 2634.

² D. Plooij, Ibid., p. 24, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, 2632.

³ There is the possibility that this could be A.D. 53. See Plooij, Ibid., p. 24ff.

twelfth year of Claudius, L. Annius Bassus was the proconsul of Cyprus. He carried out the decisions of his predecessor Q. Julius Cordus¹ who was proconsul of Cyprus before the summer of A.D. 51. Cesnola mentions in another of his books² the discovery of a sarcophagus in Cyprus about which he says: "Round the upper surface of the pedestal or plinth the following inscription is roughly scratched:

. . . T. I. PROCONSVL P. SERGE"

He concludes from this piece of evidence that "the tomb in which the sarcophagus was found, probably belonged to the family of Sergius, proconsul of Cyprus in the time of Tiberius." If he was proconsul of Cyprus in the reign of Tiberius this would put Acts 13:7 before A.D. 37, which would create a nice muddle! But "P. SERGE" is perhaps unlikely to refer to Sergius Paulus.

This piece of evidence is supported by another Cypriot inscription:³

ΔΥΚΙΟΝ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΝΚ	Λ]ούκιον Σεργίον....
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΡΙ	Ἀρριανὸν συνκλητικὸν τρι-
ΒΟΥΝΟΝ ΣΕΡΓΙΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ	βοῦνον Σεργία Δημητρία
ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ	τὸν ἀδελφόν

¹ D. Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 25, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 2631 and 2632.

² Cesnola, *Salamina*, London: 1892, p. 108ff., as cited by Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ E. A. Gardner, D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88, VI. Inscriptions of Kaklia and Amargetti", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, IX, p. 241, no. 56B.

Conclusion

Now let us look at the three possible systems of reckoning to see what results, if any, each will give. (i) and (ii) are too early to be relevant and with (iii) there is the difficulty that L. Annius Bassus was proconsul of Cyprus in A.D. 52. We conclude with Plooi, that for the dating of the term in office of Sergius Paulus there is not one conclusive piece of evidence. All that can be said is that it is highly probable that he held office before A.D. 51 and therefore cannot have been proconsul in A.D. 51 or 52.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO IN ACHAIA

Synopsis

Acts 18:12. Can we fix the date of Gallio's term of office?

Terminus a quo - A.D. 49-50.

The discovery of the Gallio inscription and its significance.

Text of the Inscription.

Conclusion.

The 12th year of Claudius - A.D. 51.

Three questions remain unanswered:

- (1) How long did Gallio remain in office?
- (2) How long had Gallio been in office before Paul appeared before him?
- (3) How long had Paul been in Corinth before his appearance before Gallio?

The objections to Knox's chronology. His proposals for overcoming the difficulty. Reasons for rejecting Knox's proposals.

Conclusion. Paul appeared before Gallio - A.D. 51.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO IN ACHAIA

Acts 18:12. Can We Fix the Date of Gallio's Term in Office?

Luke informs us that the Jews made a united attack against Paul and brought him before the tribunal when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia (Acts 18:12). Achaia comprised most of Greece south of Macedonia (see Map). If we can fix the date of Gallio's term of office then we have a firm basis for this event in Pauline chronology and a point from which to make calculations backward and forward. E. Haenchen says this is the most important date (das wichtigste chronologische Datum) in Pauline chronology.¹ Gallio, or M. Annaeus Novatus as he was originally called, was the elder brother of Lucius Seneca the philosopher and statesman and the uncle of the poet Lucan. He took the name of Gallio after his adoption by the rhetorician Lucius Junius Gallio. Gallio we are told was renowned for his wit² and lovable character.³ In A.D. 44 the province of Achaia was restored to the control of the Roman senate and to administration by a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος) of praetorian rank.⁴ Corinth was the

¹ E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 58.

² Dio Cassius, lxi. 35.

³ Seneca, Nat. quaest. iv a, praef. 11 - "Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus".

⁴ Dio Cassius, lx, 24; Suetonius, Claudius, XXV. 3.

seat of administration of the province. The terminus a quo for Gallio, therefore, is not before A.D. 44. Furthermore, as Turner¹ points out, if Gallio shared the disgrace of his brother Seneca, who was restored to favour in A.D. 49,² then the terminus a quo must be advanced to A.D. 49 or more probably A.D. 50. Ramsay,³ in a reference to Seneca's treatise de Ira, in which Seneca addresses his brother as Novatus, concludes that Gallio's adoption probably took place after A.D. 49, assuming that Seneca wrote the treatise after his return from exile.

The Discovery of the Gallio Inscription and Its Significance.

When Turner wrote his great article on the chronology of the New Testament at the turn of this century this was his conclusion and the extent of chronological information which could be gained from his sources. Since then an important inscription has been discovered at Delphi across the Gulf of Corinth from Corinth. This stone is now preserved in the Delphi Museum.⁴ A drawing of a fragment of the stone on which the inscription appeared was first published by the Russian scholar A. Nikitsky in Delphisch-epigraphische Studien⁵ and makes it possible to fix the date of

¹ Turner, op. cit., p. 417.

² Tacitus, Annals, XII. viii.

³ Ramsay, Expositor, (1897), p. 206.

⁴ See J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, p. 317.

⁵ A Nikitsky, Delphisch-epigraphische Studien, I-VI, Odessa, 1894-95. Plate VII, No. xlvii. This was published without detailed discussion or comment. It appears as the largest fragment in our photograph (Plate I).

Paul's arrival in Corinth with considerable exactness. It has since been published by a number of scholars¹ and a considerable body of literature exists on the subject (Deissmann in Paul cites twenty-eight references in addition to Commentaries and there have been a great many added since 1926). The first scholar to recognize its importance in connection with Pauline chronology was H. Dessau in 1897. In 1905 E. Bourguet, a professor of the Sorbonne in Paris, published four fragments (Group A) designated by the numbers 3883, 2271, 4001, 2178.² Later he published three other fragments (Group B) which he designated by the numbers 500, 2311, and 728. A good facsimile of all these fragments is given by Plooij in his De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus and is reproduced in Plate I of this thesis. What Bourguet failed to do, however, was to discover the exact place where Group A fitted on to Group B. Writing in 1917 he said: "Je continue à en être sûr sans pouvoir déterminer l'étendue de la lacune entre le groupe A et le groupe B."³ The most valuable contribution of Plooij is that he solved the puzzle of piecing the two groups together. We reproduce below Dittenberger's⁴ reconstructed text for the two groups as published by Plooij.⁵

¹ E.g., D. Plooij, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 30f.; A. Deissmann, Paul, pp. 261-286; C. H. Turner, The Study of the New Testament, (3rd ed.), p. 15f.; J. Jeremias, Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, xxvii, (1928), 100 n.10; K. Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, V, pp. 460-464.

² In a thesis De rebus delphicis imperatoriae aetatis capita duo, (Paris Thesis), Montepessulano, 1905, p. 63f.

³ In a letter dated 12th Nov., 1917, as cited by Plooij, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴ W. Dittenberger, Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum, II, (3rd edition) Leipzig, 1917, p. 493f. Plooij (p. 30) has incorrectly reproduced Dittenberger in Group A, line 2 (ΠΔ)ΤΡΙ[δος] should read (ΠΔ)ΤΡΙΔ[ος].

⁵ D. Plooij, Ibid., p. 30.

GROUP A

1. ΤΙΒΕΡ (ιος κλαύδιος κ) ΑΪΣ (αρ Σεβαστ) ΟΣΓ (ερμανικός ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξου)
2. ΣΙΑΣ (τὸ <ιβ> αὐτοκράτωρ τ) Ο΄Κ Γ' Π (ατηρ πα) ΤΡΙΔ (ος ὑπάτος τὸ.έ τιμητῆς Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει χαίρειν).
3. ΠΑΛ (αι μὲν) ΤΗΙ Π (ολει τ) ΩΝ ΔΕΛΦ (ων πρόθ) ΥΜΟ (ς ἐγενόμην... και εὐνους ἐξάρ).
4. ΧΗΣ ΑΕΙ (ς) ΕΤΗΡΗ (σα τῇ) ΝΘΡΗΣΚΕΙ (αν τ) ΟΥ ΑΠΟ (λλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου - ὅσα δε...)
5. ΝΥΝ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ (πολ) ΕΙΤΩΝ ΕΡΙ (δεσε) ΚΕΙΝΑΙ Ω (ν μνήμην πεποιῆται? Λεύκιος Ἰού)
6. ΝΙΟΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΩΝ ΟΦ (ιλος) ΜΟΥ Κ (αὶ ἀνθύ) ΠΑΤΟΣ (τῆς Ἀχάϊας....)
7. ΕΤΙ ΕΞΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΡ (ότερ) Ο (ν ὀρισμὸν?... ΙΙΕ (...τῶν ἄλ)
8. ΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑ.....
9. ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΤΡΕ (π..... Δελ)
10. ΦΩΝ ΩΣ ΠΟΛΕ (μίων ὄντων)
11. ΤΑΙ ΜΕΤΩΚ! (σ....)
12. (το) ΥΤΟΥ.....

GROUP B (vlgs. BOURGUET)

1. Ligne illisible, les lettres étant coupées en deux dans le sens de la hauteur.
2. ΙΜΕΝΓΑΡΕ...
3. ΤΟΠΟΥΣ Κ (αί)...
4. Ν ΠΑΝΤΩΣ Ε (ου: [ε]) Ν ΠΑΝΤΩΣΕ (μνοτάτῃ συνεδρίῳ)
5. ΘΗ ΟΙΤΙΝΕ (ς)

GROUP B (continued)

6.Ι ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΑ...
7. ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ... Ν...
8. (ἐν τοῖς ὧραις) ΜΕ (ν) ΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ (εἰν)... (peut-être ΜΕΘΙΣΜΕΝ)
9. ΛΑΣΕ ΕΝΤΕΛΛΟΜΑΙΥ...
10.ΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΓΕΓΡΑΜ (μένων)

The translation of the four fragments (3883, 2271, 4001 and 2178) as reconstructed is given by Lake¹ as follows:

"Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex maximus, in the 12th year of his tribunicial power, acclaimed Emperor for the 26th time, father of his country, consul for the 5th time, Censor, sends greeting to the city of Delphi. I have for long been zealous for the city of Delphi and favourable to it from the beginning, and I have always observed the cult of the Pythian Apollo, but with regard to the present stories, and those quarrels of the citizens of which a report has been made by Lucius Junius Gallio, my friend, and proconsul of Achaia...will still hold the previous settlement...."

Three important points emerge from this reconstruction:

- (1) The name of Gallio.
- (2) The 26th acclamation of Claudius as Imperator-Emperor. (See

¹ K. Lake, op. cit., p. 461. See C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents, New York: Harper & Brothers, (1961), p. 48f.

Line 2, Group A after the word ἀποκράτωρ the number ΚϚ¹ = 26).

(3) The rescript is a reply to a report concerning a boundary dispute between the city of Delphi and its neighbours.

Thus Gallio was proconsul of Achaia at the time of the 26th acclamation of the Emperor Claudius. Unfortunately the surviving fragments do not inform us as to the number of the tribunate year and we have no way of determining exactly when the 26th acclamation took place. The reconstruction does suggest the 12th Tribunate year but this is a deduction and is not in the original. However, we can fix the date of the 27th acclamation with some certainty from two other inscriptions.

The first is given by Dessau:²

TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS PONTIFEX

MAXIM. TRIB. POTESTATE XII IMPER. XXVII PATER

CENSOR
PATRIAE ^ COS. V

. . . A.D. III IDUS DECEMBR. FAUSTO CORNELIO SULLA

FELICE L. SALVIDIENO RUFO SALVIANO COS.

From this inscription we gain the following information: The 27th acclamation had occurred before or [occurred] during the 12th year of Claudius, i.e. January 25th, A.D. 52 - January 24th, A.D. 53, during the consulship of F. Cornelius Sulla Felix which covered the whole of the year A.D. 52, and during the consulship of L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus which lasted

¹ In Greek the letter K = 20 and the obsolete letter Ϛ (stigma) = Ϛ = 6. This Ϛ is sometimes called Vau or Digamma. (see Table 6, p. 148)

² Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 1, 1896, Berolini, 1892; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, III, 844. As cited by Plooi, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

throughout the latter half of A.D. 52. The date is December 11th, A.D. 52.¹

The second inscription is found on an arch of the Aqua Claudia:²

TI. CLAUDIUS DRUSI F. CAISAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS
 PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBUNICIA PTESTATE XII CCS. V
 IMPERATOR XXVII PATER PATRIAE AQUAS CLAUDIAM EX
 FONTIBUS QUI VOCABANTUR CAERULEUS ET CURTIUS A
 MILLIARIO XXXXV ITEM ANIENEM NOVAM A MILLIARIO LXII
 SUA IMPENSA IN URBEM PERDUCENDAS CURAVIT.

We derive from this inscription the data that the 27th acclamation of Claudius took place before the consecration of the Aqua Claudia which Frontinus³ dates as follows: "C. Caesar (i.e. Caligula) qui Tiberio successit...duos ductus inchoavit. Quod opus Claudius magnificentissime consummavit dedicavitque Sulla et Titiano consulibus anno post urbem conditam octingentesimo tertio, kalendis Augustis." This consecration took place on the 1st of August, A.D. 52 after the 27th acclamation of Claudius.

Plooij combines these data with an inscription from the city of Kys in Caria which was published by Cousin and Deschamps:⁴

¹ D. Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

² Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. sel.*, I, p. 218; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1256. As cited by Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ Frontinus, *De aquis*, I, p. 13. As cited by Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 34; Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁴ G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, "Emplacement et ruines de la ville de KYΣ en Carie," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XI, (1887), pp. 306ff. Also cited by Plooij, *Ibid.*, p. 35, and Haenchen, *Ibid.*, p. 58, n. 4.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΑΥΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΟ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΕΝ
ΠΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΤΟ ΕΙΚΟΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΤΡΙ
ΔΟΣ ΚΤΕ

This shows that the 26th imperial acclamation overlapped Claudius' 12th year, i.e. that on the 25th of January, A.D. 52 he was still Emperor XXVI. From these data we find that the 27th acclamation took place between the 25th of January, A.D. 52 and the 1st of August, A.D. 52. The inscription from Kys shows that at some time in the year A.D. 52 (25th January)-A.D. 53 Claudius was still Emperor for the 26th time, but it does not enable us to say whether the 26th acclamation took place before or after the 25th of January, A.D. 52.

The terminus post quem for the 26th acclamation follows from the dating of the 22nd and 24th acclamations. The 22nd acclamation is given in an inscription:¹

TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG.

GERMANICUS PONT. MAX.

POT. XI IMP. XXII P.P. COS. V

////////// AB EPH (eso)

The 23rd acclamation has not so far been documented. The 24th acclamation is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription² in which the 11th tribunate year is named.

¹ Corpus Inscr. Lat., III, 476. As cited by Plooij, Ibid., p. 35.

² Corpus Inscr. Lat., III, 1977. As cited by Plooij, Ibid., p.

(Ti) CLAUDIO DRVS (i) F.
 CAESARI AUG. (g) ERM. PONT. MAX.
 TRIB. (p.) XI IMP. X (X) IIII COS. V.
 CENSORI P. P. P. ANTEIO LEG.
 PRO. PR.

The 25th acclamation is given in an inscription which only contains the name of Claudius and the number of the acclamation. From this information we conclude that between the 25th of January, A.D. 51, and the 1st of August, A.D. 52, must be placed the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th acclamations. The crowding of these acclamations within such a short space of time can be explained as being due to the victories of Publius Ostorius over Caractacus in A.D. 50¹ and the king of the Silures in A.D. 51-52.² There were also victories by Quadratus in Palestine and Antiochus of Commagene against the Clitae in A.D. 52. We conclude, therefore, that since the 22nd and 24th acclamations may be placed in A.D. 51 and the 27th is dated before the 1st of August, A.D. 52, the 26th must have fallen in the latter half of A.D. 51 or the first half of A.D. 52. This enables us to fix the date of the Gallio inscription with a reasonable degree of certainty. The 12th year of Claudius fell between the 25th of January, A.D. 52, and the 24th of January, A.D. 53, and his 27th acclamation was celebrated before the 1st of August, A.D. 52. It follows therefore that the 26th acclamation referred to in the Gallio inscription must have been celebrated some time between the 25th of January, A.D. 51 and the 1st of

¹ Tacitus, Annals, XII, xxxv.

² Ibid., XII, xxxiii.

August, A.D. 52 and that Gallio came to office on the 1st of July, A.D. 51.¹ It must be admitted that the Gallio Inscription does not state that Gallio came into office while Claudius was Emperor XXVI; merely that he was in office then. It remains a possibility that he may have come into office in July, A.D. 50 and stayed for 2 years. However, this is very unlikely. If it be argued that Gallio came into office on the 1st of July, A.D. 52 then he must have held an enquiry concerning the disturbances at Delphi and sent a dispatch to Claudius in time for the Emperor to write his rescript and then celebrate his 27th acclamation before the 1st of August when the aqueduct was dedicated. Again this is theoretically possible but so vastly improbable that it cannot be considered seriously. We conclude that Gallio was in office during the period between Claudius' 26th and 27th acclamations (some time between the 25th of January, A.D. 51 and the 1st of August, A.D. 52) and that he came to office on the 1st of July, A.D. 51.²

The Gallio inscription, unfortunately, gives us no information concerning three important questions.

(1) How long did Gallio remain in office? Normally a proconsul stayed in office for one year, though terms of two years were possible. However, it is most likely that his term of office was of the usual one-year duration. But the evidence is not conclusive and the possibility exists that Gallio may have remained in office for two years, i.e. from A.D. 50 to A.D. 52 or from A.D. 52 to A.D. 54 or from A.D. 51 to A.D. 53,

¹ On the date 1st of July, See n. 2, p. 190.

² E. Haenchen, *op. cit.*, p. 59, f.n. 1 favours the 1st of May, A.D. 51 to the 1st of May, A.D. 52 for Gallio's term of office.

since Claudius died on the 14th of October, A.D. 54. However, it is extremely unlikely that he began as late as A.D. 52.

(2) How long had Gallio been in office when Paul appeared before him? Lake¹ has observed that: "It is the context, not the grammar, which suggests that Gallio had just arrived when Paul was brought before him...". It seems to us most probable that the Jews would lose no time in bringing Paul to trial, especially if they thought that by so doing they could take advantage of Gallio's inexperience with his new duties. Paul, then, probably came before Gallio soon after the latter came to office, that is, in the summer of A.D. 51. The usual date for a proconsul to enter office was on the 1st of July.²

(3) How long had Paul been in Corinth before his trial before Gallio? We have concluded elsewhere (Chap. XIII) that Paul probably arrived in Corinth at the end of A.D. 49 or early in A.D. 50. Luke informs us (Acts 18:11) that he remained there for "a year and six months" (ἐκάθισεν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μῆνας ἑξήκοντα). Since (i) the trial before Gallio is mentioned immediately after this statement and (ii) Luke records immediately after the account of the trial (Acts 18:18) that Paul remained there "many days longer" (ἡμέρας ἱκανάς), we conclude that it is reasonable to suppose that Paul came before the proconsul "who cared for

¹ K. Lake, op. cit., p. 464.

² See T. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht, Leipzig: (3rd ed.), (1887), II, p. 255. Cited by Plooij, op. cit., p. 40. Tiberius commanded that provincial governors take their departure for their office by June 1st (Dio Cassius, LVII, 14, 5). Claudius introduced a law that they must set out before April 1st (Dio Cassius, LX, 11, 6). He later modified this to read that they must begin their journey before the middle of April (Dio Cassius, LX, 17, 3). See J. Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, p. 316 and Haenchen, op. cit., p. 59, f.n. 1.

none of these things" towards the end of his (Paul's) stay in Corinth, that is in the summer or autumn of A.D. 51. This argument however is not decisive because, as we have seen in Chapter III-IV, whereas Luke arranges his material in a logical sequence it does not follow from this that he always arranges it chronologically. But the date July 1st, A.D. 51 for Gallio's entry on office is the nearest we can come to an absolute chronology¹ and gives us a fixed date from which to reckon backward and forwards in Paul's life.

NOTE

The Chronological Difficulty in the Scheme Proposed by J. Knox.

John Knox finds himself in a chronological difficulty as a result of the evidence established by the discovery of the Gallio inscription.² The evidence that Gallio was in Corinth in A.D. 51-52 is incompatible with the chronological scheme which he proposes. According to Knox's scheme Paul cannot have reached Corinth later than A.D. 45. He proposes two ways of resolving this difficulty: (1) That Luke may be mistaken in having Paul appear before Gallio at all. In support of this argument he refers (i) to the apparent error Luke made in his Gospel when he dated Jesus'

¹ If our calculation for the year of Paul's departure for Rome is correct then it also would give us an exact date in Paul's life (see Chap. XXVI).

² J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, pp. 81ff.

birth in the reign of Herod during the census under Quirinius¹ (ii) to Gamaliel's speech in Acts in which he makes chronologically mistaken references to Judas and Theudas (iii) to the mistaken (so he thinks) reference to the "relief visit" in Acts 11:28 to Claudius.² (2) If Luke was correct in his reference to Paul being brought before Gallio then he probably was mistaken in thinking that the event took place during Paul's first period of residence in Corinth.

We do not find Knox's arguments convincing since (1) the argument is forced in order to fit into his accepted chronology; (2) it does not do justice to the evidence of Acts; and (3) cannot be supported by the external evidence which we have cited above. Knox's proposal that Paul was in Corinth in A.D. 41 is also based on the evidence of Dio Cassius lx. 6. 6. which was rejected on pp. 168-169. Knox's date for Paul's appearance before Gallio is far too early and is, to say the least, a desperate attempt to safeguard his chronological scheme.

¹ An enrolment for purposes of taxation took place in Syria during the governorship of P. Sulpicius Quirinius (Josephus, Antiq., xviii. 2. 1). This act provoked an insurrection in Galilee (Acts 5:37). The difficulty in Luke's chronology is that it implies (Lk. 1:5, 26) that Jesus was born during the reign of Herod the Great who died in 4 B.C. and Quirinius was never governor of Syria during this period (the governors during this time were C. Sentius Saturninus, 9-6 B.C. and P. Quintilius Varus, 6-4 B.C.). Many ingenious suggestions have been made to overcome this chronological difficulty, notable among which are: W. M. Ramsay, Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? (1898); B. S. Easton, Commentary on Luke (1926), and J. W. Jack, "The Census of Quirinius", Expository Times, XL, (1928-9), pp. 496-498. In spite of these efforts the census under Quirinius remains an unresolved chronological difficulty. Cf. W. Manson, The Gospel of Luke (Moffatt N.T. Commentary), pp. 16-17; E. Stauffer, Jesus Gestalt und Geschichte, A. Francke, A. G. Verlag Bern, 1957, pp. 26-36, who puts the beginning of the Census in 7 B.C. (the year of Christ's birth) and the end in A.D. 7. Stauffer may have overstated his case but he certainly shows Luke to be a much more reliable historian than John Knox believes him to be. G. B. Caird, "The Chronology of the New Testament", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,

New York: Abingdon Press, 1962, pp. 599-607. G. Ogg resolves the difficulty by stating: "The assumption seems inevitable that Lk. 2:2 is an insertion made by a person who wrongly identified the enrolment of Lk. 2:1 with a well-known enrolment of Judaea made by Quirinius in A.D. 6/7." "Chronology of the New Testament", Peake's Commentary, (1962), p. 728.

² See p. 162, n. 2.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DATE OF PAUL'S ARRIVAL IN JERUSALEM

Synopsis

Acts 20:6

Ramsay's argument for a fixed point in Pauline chronology.

Turner's argument against Ramsay's theory.

Plooij's argument against Ramsay's theory.

The objections of Kirsopp Lake to Ramsay and Plooij.

Conclusion. Paul arrived in Jerusalem in May, A.D. 57.

Note. Reasons for rejecting the chronology of Knox.

A further chronological notice which has a bearing on the problem - Acts 21:28.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DATE OF PAUL'S ARRIVAL IN JERUSALEM

Acts 20:6

A further important chronological note is given by Luke in Acts 20:6.

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἀζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἦλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὅπου διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά.

Ramsay's Argument for a Fixed Point in Pauline Chronology.

Ramsay argued that these chronological data provided a fixed point in Paul's chronology "not merely to the year, but to the month and day".¹ From this fixed point he calculated backwards and forwards to determine other dates in Paul's life. This theory is based on the chronological data that Paul and some of his seven companions (the "diarist" for one) remained behind at Philippi while the others (the Asians, Tychicus and Trophimus?) formed the advance party which went on ahead to Troas. Paul and his company set sail from Philippi after the "days of Unleavened bread" and in five days rejoined the others at Troas. Here they spent a week. Ramsay held (and we believe correctly) that Luke was using the Jewish method of reckoning in which a part of a day, or other unit of time,

¹ W. M. Ramsay, "A Fixed Date in the Life of St. Paul", Expositor, 5th Ser. III, (1896), p. 336.

was reckoned as a whole unit.¹ He thought that "the last complete day that they spent there (i.e. Troas) was a Sunday, and they sailed away early on a Monday morning".² From this fixed point, i.e. Monday morning, Ramsay calculated backwards by dead reckoning to the day of the Passover which Paul and his companions celebrated at Philippi. Though Ramsay did not supply a chronological table his calculation may be set out as follows:

"Seven days at Troas"	Monday	- left Troas for Assos (Acts 20:13)
	Sunday	- breaking of bread, speaking until midnight, accident to Eutychus (Acts 20:7, 8, 9)
	Saturday	-
	Friday	-
	Thursday	-
"Five days at sea"	Wednesday	-
	Tuesday	-
	Monday	-
	Sunday	-
	Saturday	-
"After the days of Unleavened Bread"	Friday	-
	Thursday	-
"Days of Unleavened Bread"	Wednesday	-
	Tuesday	-
	Monday	-
	Sunday	-
	Saturday	-
	Friday	-
	Thursday	- Passover (A.D. 57)

Ramsay says: "The conclusion, then, is unavoidable: the slaying of the Passover in that year fell on the afternoon of a Thursday and the Seven Days of Unleavened Bread continued till the following Thursday."³ The next

¹ K. Wieseler, Chronologie des apostolische Zeitalters, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1848, pp. 99ff. discounts the Jewish method of reckoning and uses the modern method so that Paul departs on a Wednesday. Thus, his whole account becomes inaccurate. See Plooi, op. cit., p. 84, f.n. 1.

² W. M. Ramsay, op. cit., p. 336.

³ W. M. Ramsay, Ibid., p. 337.

and obvious question is: "In what years between A.D. 56 and A.D. 59 did Passover fall on a Thursday?" In answer to that question Ramsay states that this "was the case in A.D. 57 but not in any of the years immediately around it."¹ He does not indicate from whose tables he makes this calculation for dating the Passover in A.D. 57, though it is safe to assume that it was Wieseler.

Turner's Argument Against Ramsay's Theory.

C. H. Turner pointed out what he believed to be three weaknesses in Ramsay's claim for a fixed point in Paul's career: (i) The reckoning backward from the departure at Troas was arbitrary. It presupposed that Paul left Philippi on the earliest day possible, i.e. Friday. (ii) Ramsay limited the years open for discussion from A.D. 56 to A.D. 59. This excluded the possibility of an earlier date. (iii) The Jewish method of determining Nisan 1 is not established, and Ramsay based his theory on the grounds that an empirical system of reckoning corrected by astronomical calculations was established, and further, that it was known to the Jews throughout the synagogues of the Diaspora.

Plooijs's Arguments Against Ramsay's Theory.

The Dutch scholar Plooijs says that the main fault with Ramsay's reasoning is the claim that A.D. 57 was the only year which satisfied the conditions of the problem. Plooijs agrees with Ramsay that Paul left Philippi immediately after the days of Unleavened Bread. He dates this as being almost certainly the 22nd of Nisan.² Plooijs bases his findings on

¹ Ibid., p. 337.

² Plooijs, op. cit., p. 84. "Dat zou dan zijn op den 22sten Nisan. Dit is zéér waarschijnlijk, eigenlijk wel zeker te achten."

the calendrical results of Ginzel and H. G. van den Sande Bakhuyzen whose calculations cover the years from A.D. 52 to A.D. 60.¹ He says: "My fixed points agree with regard to the determining of the day of the 1st Nisan with those of Wieseler who, however, has only calculated the years A.D. 56 to A.D. 59. It became important to me in connection with the 'early' chronology of Petavius and his followers to include the years A.D. 52 to A.D. 55. Even the year A.D. 60 had to be included as the terminus ad quem. Jülicher determines the day of arrival in Jerusalem as A.D. 59, or even more probably A.D. 60."² Plooiij also observes that Sidersky's fixed points are slightly different with regard to the dating from Ginzel's on which he has based his findings on the advice of Prof. van den Sande Bakhuyzen; moreover, Sidersky chose for A.D. 53 the third new moon ("den 3den nieuwen maan van dat jaar") for the dating of 1st Nisan (March 11), which date surely is too early.³ Plooiij reproduces Ginzel's table and says that from these calculations it becomes evident that only in the years A.D. 54 and A.D. 57 did Nisan 1 fall on a Friday.⁴ The choice between the two dates he believes can only be determined by a comparison with other fixed points in Paul's chronology. Plooiij says that Ramsay is incorrect when he states that the only year which fits the situation is the year A.D. 57. If the "early" chronology was accepted, then the year A.D. 54 would also be a possibility.

¹ Ibid., p. 84, f.n. 2.

² Ibid., p. 84.

³ I am simply translating Plooiij here, op. cit., p. 85.

⁴ Plooiij's calculations are only one day different than those of Parker and Dubberstein.

The Objections of Kirsopp Lake to Ramsay and Plooij.

Kirsopp Lake¹ thinks that the weak point in both Ramsay's and Plooij's argument is the assertion that Paul left Philippi on the 22nd of Nisan, i.e. the day after the "days of Unleavened Bread" and that "since he reached Troas five days later, and after staying there seven days left on a Monday, he must have originally started from Philippi on a Friday. Therefore in that year the 22nd of Nisan was a Friday, and astronomical tables show that this was so in 57 - the year which Plooij regards as that of Paul's arrival in Jerusalem - or in 54."² Lake argues that Luke does not in fact say so. He merely says that it was μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων . He thinks that it is more probable that Paul remained in Philippi until some time after Passover week was finished. However his departure would also depend on whether he could get immediate passage on a ship bound for Palestine.

Conclusion

In reply to these arguments, it seems to us reasonable to think that Paul would not delay unnecessarily in leaving Philippi since his plan was to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost if at all possible (Acts 20:16). The objection of Lake that his departure would depend on his finding a ship ready to sail cannot be dismissed. It is of course possible that Paul might have chartered his own ship but unlikely in view of the great expense involved. We just do not know, and these speculations go beyond the evidence. Ramsay's belief that in these data from Acts 20:6 he had found a

¹ K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, V, p. 470, f.n. 1.

² K. Lake, Ibid., p. 470, f.n. 1.

fixed date from which to calculate Paul's arrival in Jerusalem cannot be substantiated. As the critics above have pointed out (1) Ramsay's theory presupposed that Paul left Philippi immediately after the days of Unleavened Bread and (2) it assumed that the tables for calculating the date of the Passover were accurate. We would want to add to these objections two further assumptions made by Ramsay: (i) that $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ means the Christian Sunday, i.e. "the first day of the week" and not the Jewish "Sabbath" שבת i.e. the seventh day - Saturday and (ii) that he knows what system Luke is using for determining the beginning of the "day". In the Old Testament, in earlier practice at any rate, it seems to have begun in the morning (Gen. 19:34); however, in later practice it was counted as beginning in the evening (Lev. 23:32). In New Testament times the day seems to be calculated in the morning (Matt. 28:1, Mark 16:1, Luke 23:56-24:3, etc.). The official Roman day began at midnight. Ramsay just assumes that he knows what system of reckoning the beginning of the day Luke was using. But this is an unwarranted assumption. G. W. H. Lampe has pointed out in respect to Acts 20:12 - "It is not clear whether "daybreak" means Sunday or Monday morning."¹ The same may be said for reckoning the other days in this chronological notice. In view therefore of so many uncertainties concerning these data from Acts 20:6 we must agree with Ramsay's critics that he has failed to demonstrate the certainty for this "fixed date" in Paul's life.

Following his appearance before Gallio in the summer of A.D. 51 (see Chap. XV) Paul stayed on in Corinth "many days" (ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς)

¹ G. W. H. Lampe, "Acts", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, (1962), p. 918.

(Acts 18:18). From Corinth he travelled to Ephesus where he stayed for a short time (Acts 18:21), and then went to Caesarea and on to Antioch (Acts 18:22). This brought him to the end of the so-called "Second Missionary Journey" probably in the autumn of A.D. 51 (see Chap. XXIV). Paul spent the winter of A.D. 51/52 in Antioch and began the "Third Missionary Journey" in the spring of A.D. 52. He travelled through the region of Galatia and Phrygia (Acts 18:23) and arrived at Ephesus (Acts 19:1) where he was to spend "three years" (Acts 20:31). He left Ephesus, following the riot involving the silversmiths, and went through Macedonia (Acts 20:1) in the spring of A.D. 56 and came to Corinth where he spent three months (Acts 20:3). The winter of A.D. 56/57 was spent in Greece. In the spring of A.D. 57 he left Philippi "after the Days of Unleavened Bread" (Acts 20:6). In A.D. 57 Nisan 1 fell on March 26, according to the tables of Parker and Dubberstein,¹ and Nisan 14 was accordingly on April 8. Passover was followed by seven Days of Unleavened Bread. Paul was hastening to get to Jerusalem for Pentecost (Acts 20:16) which fell fifty days after Passover. He presumably arrived in Jerusalem before the "feast" - sometime at the end of May A.D. 57.

NOTE

The chief objection to this proposed chronology is made by John Knox and other American scholars who are following his lead. They argue that since the "collection for the saints" was an emergency relief, and since Paul was not the kind of person to procrastinate in fulfilling his obligations, three years or, at the most, five, are all that can possibly

¹ R. A. Parker & W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75, Providence: Brown University Press, 1956, p. 47.

be allowed for the interval between the Jerusalem Council which they date in A.D. 47 and the delivery of the fund in Jerusalem. Their chronology, however, is based on the primacy of the evidence to be found in the Epistles and is not calculated on a carefully worked out chronological system.

Knox feels very uneasy about the evidence of Acts: "It suits the author's purpose so well to have Paul make his defence before Felix, Festus and Agrippa that one cannot quite suppress the question of whether he may not have arranged it so. In similar fashion, Luke alone has Jesus appear before both Pilate and Herod."¹ He places Paul's arrest in Jerusalem - as Acts says two years before Festus took Felix's place as procurator of Judea - in A.D. 55. Knox arrives at this date on the evidence of (1) the statement in the Armenian Version of Eusebius' Chronicon and (2) the statement in Josephus' Antiquities. Along with these two principal pieces of evidence he takes the statement in Tacitus' Annals, XIII, 14-15, that Pallas fell into disfavour apparently in A.D. 55. But as George Ogg has pointed out: "According to Schürer Eusebius is in this matter not independent of Josephus, and the statement of the latter so bristles with difficulties that many have rejected it as erroneous."² In the next chapter we deal with the difficulties which arise over using the evidence of Eusebius, Josephus, and Tacitus. The Armenian Version of the Chronicon is in any case not to be trusted in this matter (see p. 209). We therefore reject Knox's date of A.D. 55 as the year of the succession of Festus over Felix.

¹ J. Knox, "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), p. 20, f.n. 11.

² G. Ogg, "A New Chronology of Saint Paul's Life", Expository Times, LXIV, (1953), pp. 120-123.

Knox claims that most scholars prefer a later date "not on the basis of the evidence bearing on this particular point, considered independently and taken at face value, but, as in other cases, because of the requirements of the usually accepted chronology....It is apparently the supposed demands of the Pauline chronology as a whole which determine the scholar's opinion rather than the evidence bearing on the particular point."¹ But it is the requirements of his own accepted chronology, restricted as it is by his principle of criticism, which force Knox to date Paul's arrival in Jerusalem in A.D. 53 or A.D. 54. Thus his argument recoils upon himself.

In Acts 21:38 the chief Captain mistook Paul for an Egyptian who had led a revolt some time earlier. According to Josephus this revolt occurred during the reign of Nero (κατ' αὐτόν).² This piece of evidence is therefore of little value and enables us only to date Paul's arrest in Jerusalem during Nero's reign, i.e. A.D. 54-68. This, however, would be one further piece of evidence against Knox's early date for Paul's arrival in Jerusalem in A.D. 53 or A.D. 54 because the revolt led by the Egyptian must have taken place a considerable time before Paul's arrest and at the same time during Nero's reign. It could hardly, therefore, have taken place as Knox contends during A.D. 53 or 54.

¹ J. Knox, op. cit., p. 21.

² Josephus, Antiquities, XX, viii. 6.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROCURATORSHIP OF FELIX AND PORCIUS FESTUS

Synopsis

Acts 24:10.

Can we determine the date of Felix's appointment?

Evidence of Josephus.

Conclusion: Accession of Felix, A.D. 52/53.

The date in which Felix was succeeded by Festus.

Evidence of Josephus.

Evidence of Eusebius.

Two versions of the Chronicon.

Conclusion: Festus succeeded Felix in the regnal year
A.D. 56-57.

Summary.

Table 9. Reigns of Emperors and Kings in Relation to
Procurators, A.D. 41-65.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROCURATORSHIP OF FELIX AND PORCIUS FESTUS

Acts 24:10

At the time of his imprisonment at Caesarea, Paul addresses Felix as one who has been "for many years a judge of this nation" (Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ - Acts 24:10). Now the question is, can we determine the date of Felix's appointment?

The Date of Felix's Appointment.

The events which led to the appointment of Felix are related by Josephus. The predecessor of Felix was Ventidius Cumanus who apparently became procurator in the eighth year of Claudius, i.e. A.D. 48.¹ During his term of office, troubles broke out between the Galileans and the Samaritans. Roman soldiers were called out to intervene in the quarrel. These disturbances resulted in an enquiry by Ummidius Quadratus, legate of Syria, with the result that Cumanus was sent back to Rome. When he was looking for a suitable successor for Cumanus, Claudius sought the advice of Jonathan, the High Priest, who was in Rome at the time in connection with the impeachment of Cumanus. Jonathan recommended Felix who was duly appointed and took up office after the completion of the twelfth year of Claudius' reign.² According to Tacitus, Felix may have already been

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, XX. v. 2.

² Ibid., XX. vii. 1.

serving in Palestine in some subordinate position prior to his appointment as procurator.¹ Since the first year of Claudius began after the 24th of January, A.D. 41 (Table 8)^{p.160} and that calendar year was probably counted as his first regnal year, then his twelfth year would be A.D. 52. We may with reasonable certainty date the arrival of Felix in A.D. 52, with the possible date of his arrival after the opening of navigation in the spring of A.D. 53. If Felix entered upon his office late in A.D. 52 or early in A.D. 53 then Paul could have said with intention to make as favourable a comment as possible that he had been "many years" (Acts 24:10) in office.

A second piece of evidence which throws some light on the question is the date of the marriage of Felix to Drusilla. Luke informs us that at the time of Paul's appearance before Felix the latter was already married to Drusilla (Acts 24:24). Drusilla was the daughter of Agrippa I. In A.D. 53 she married Azizus, the king of Emesa, when she was fifteen years old. Soon after this the marriage was dissolved and she became the wife of Felix.² There is no evidence for the date of this marriage, but it is possible to calculate the date fairly accurately since Azizus, who died in A.D. 55, was alive when she married Felix. We may conclude, therefore, that Felix married Drusilla in c. A.D. 54. It was some time after this date that Paul appeared before them. When Claudius died in A.D. 54 Felix's appointment was continued by Nero. We have previously concluded that Paul arrived in Jerusalem in A.D. 57 (p. 201) and it was at this time that he appeared before Felix. (cf. p. 209).

¹ Tacitus, Annals, XII. 54.

² Josephus, Antiquities, XX. vii. 2.

The Date in which Felix was succeeded by Festus.

Luke informs us that Felix was recalled two years after Paul had appeared before him and replaced by Porcius Festus (Acts 24:27). According to Tacitus¹ Felix had "long since" been Procurator of Judaea in A.D. 52. Haenchen thinks that Tacitus' desire to show the tendentious end of an ambitious man makes his evidence worthless.²

Evidence of Josephus.

Josephus mentions the change in procuratorship but does not give any indication of the date. He informs us that at the time of Felix' recall he was prosecuted before Nero by the Jews of Caesarea. According to Josephus³ Felix would have been convicted of maladministration had it not been for the fact that he was a brother of Pallas who at this time was held in high regard by the emperor. Pallas was dismissed after the poisoning of Britannicus who at the time of his death had almost reached his fourteenth birthday⁴ (February 13, A.D. 55). Some scholars have argued that Pallas could not have exercised any influence over Nero after his dismissal and conclude that Felix must have been recalled at the very beginning of Nero's reign, i.e. A.D. 55.⁵ There are three objections to this early dating for the recall of Felix: (1) Nero never liked Pallas and planned to dismiss him as soon as he became emperor. This he did. However,

¹ Tacitus, Annals, XII. 54.

² Haenchen, op. cit., p. 62.

³ Josephus, Antiquities, XX. viii. 9; Bellum Judaicum, II. xiv. 1.

⁴ Tacitus, Annals, XIII, 15.

⁵ This is the date favoured by Haenchen, op. cit., p. 63, f.n. 3.

he permitted him to keep the fortune that he had amassed as secretary to the treasury under Claudius and did not subject his former actions to scrutiny after his retirement as was so often the case with Roman officials. But this evidence does not support the view that either before or after his dismissal he was in a position to influence the emperor on behalf of his brother Felix. (2) Josephus gives a long list of events that took place in Palestine during the procuratorship of Felix and these follow upon his reference to the accession of Nero. All these events could hardly have occurred during the procuratorship of Felix if he was recalled soon after Nero's reign began. (3) According to Luke Paul had been in prison for "two years" (*διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης*) before the arrival of Festus. E. Haenchen thinks that Luke probably mistook the statement in his source concerning the "two year" period and mistakenly referred it to Paul rather than Felix. He suggests that it does not mean Paul's two years in prison but Felix's two years in office.¹ If Festus succeeded Felix in A.D. 55, according to this early dating, and Paul had already been a prisoner in Caesarea for two whole years then that means Paul was arrested in Jerusalem in A.D. 53. This leaves only two years interval between Paul's appearance before Gallio in the summer of A.D. 51 and his arrest in Jerusalem in the spring of A.D. 53, which does not allow enough time for the activities recorded in Acts 18:23-21:16 (see Chap. XXV). The Ephesian ministry alone lasted for three years (Acts 20:31). We must therefore reject this early dating.

Evidence of Eusebius.

¹ E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 60.

In the Armenian Version of the Chronicon of Eusebius the date assigned for the succession of Festus over Felix is the fourteenth year of Claudius and the tenth year of Herod Agrippa II, i.e. A.D. 54 (see Table 9).¹ Jerome in his version of the Chronicon dates the succession of Festus over Felix in the second year of Nero, i.e. A.D. 56. Which of these two schemes is correct? The Armenian Version would seem to be at fault because in his Historia Ecclesiae Eusebius says that Felix is still the procurator in the reign of Nero. We conclude, therefore, that there is a reasonable probability that Festus succeeded Felix during the regnal year, January 1, A.D. 56 to January 1, A.D. 57.² This agrees with the evidence arrived at independently in Chapter XVI for the date of Paul's arrival in Jerusalem for Pentecost in A.D. 57.

SUMMARY

In the foregoing chapters we have considered the chronological notices in the Acts and have discovered that the conclusions reached in Part IV support those arrived at in Part III. Moreover, we have been able to supplement the chronology derived solely from Paul's Epistles by additions from the Acts: Paul's arrival in Corinth (end of A.D. 49 or early 50); Paul's appearance before Gallio (summer of A.D. 51); Paul's arrival

¹ G. B. Caird, regards the reference to the "fourteenth year of Claudius" as a mistake. He prefers to accept the statement of Josephus (Bellum Judaicum, II. xiv. 4) that the beginning of Herod Agrippa II's reign was reckoned from Nisan 1, A.D. 50 so that his tenth year began on Nisan 1, A.D. 59. See "Chronology of the New Testament", Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I, (1962), p. 604. But this dating does not agree with the evidence of Josephus presented above and is contradicted by the evidence of Eusebius.

² J. Finegan thinks that since Eusebius was living in Caesarea he might probably have used the Syro-Macedonian calendar in which the regnal years were counted from October 1. See Handbook of Biblical Chronology, pp. 151, 324.

in Jerusalem (A.D. 57); Paul's appearance before Felix (A.D. 57); and Paul's appearance before Festus (A.D. 59).¹ We have now completed our investigation of the chronological notices in the Epistles and Acts except for the Missionary Journeys and the Journey to Rome recorded in Acts which will be considered in Part VII. We now turn to attempt to solve the vexing problem raised by the visits to Jerusalem as recorded in the Epistles and the Acts.

¹ This date may be further substantiated by the issue of coinage which it is believed was connected with the advent of a new procurator. The new coinage was issued in the fifth year of Nero which would coincide with the arrival of Porcius Festus in A.D. 59. See P. L. Hedley, "Pilate's Arrival in Judaea", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, (1934), pp. 57-58, n. 1. However Hedley's conclusion is based on an assumption. See E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 63: "Andere Forscher schliessen aus der neuen palästinenischen Münzprägung im Jahr 59 auf einen Prokuratorenwechsel. Aber Pilatus trat sein Amt 26 an und gab erst 29/30 neue Münzen heraus." Haenchen would date Festus' arrival in Jerusalem in A.D. 55.

TABLE 9

REIGNS OF EMPERORS AND KINGS IN RELATION TO PROCURATORS

A.D. 41 - A.D. 65

ROMANS	JEWS	A.D.
Claudius, thirteen years, eight months, twenty-eight days.	Herod Agrippa I, seven years.	
Year 1	Year 4	41
Year 2	Year 5	42
Year 3	Year 6	43
Year 4	Year 7	44
	Herod Agrippa II, twenty-six years. (i.e. counting to A.D. 70)	
Year 5	Year 1	45
Year 6	Year 2	46
Year 7	Year 3	47
Year 8	Year 4	48
Year 9	Year 5	49
Year 10	Year 6	50
Year 11	Year 7	51
Year 12 (Accession of Felix)	Year 8	52
Year 13	Year 9	53
Year 14	Year 10	54
Nero, thirteen years, seven months, twenty-eight days.		
Year 1	Year 11	55
Year 2 (Festus succeeds Felix)	Year 12	56
Year 3	Year 13	57
Year 4	Year 14	58
Year 5	Year 15	59
Year 6	Year 16	60
Year 7	Year 17	61
Year 8	Year 18	62
Year 9	Year 19	63
Year 10	Year 20	64
Year 11	Year 21	65

PART FIVE

THE PROBLEM OF THE VISITS
TO JERUSALEM

CHAPTER XVIII

CHAPTER XVIII

VARIOUS THEORIES FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE VISITS IN GALATIANS AND ACTS

Synopsis

With which of the visits in Acts are we to identify the second visit in Galatians?

- (1) Arguments in favour of the theory $G\ 2 = A\ 3$.
Arguments against this identification.
Conclusion. It must be rejected.
 - (2) Arguments in favour of $G\ 2 = A\ 2$.
Objections to this identification.
Conclusion. Main objection is the early dating of Galatians.
 - (3) Arguments in favour of $G\ 2 = A\ 2 + A\ 3$.
Arguments against this theory.
Conclusion. Charge of inaccuracy laid to Luke.
Porter's theory.
Conclusion. Extension of the theory of Nock and Dodd.
 - (4) Arguments in favour of theory $G\ 2 = A\ 3 + A\ 4$.
The advantages of this theory according to Knox.
Objections to Knox's theory.
Conclusion. Raises as many problems as it solves.
Funk's theory.
Conclusion. Extension of the theory of Knox.
- Conclusion. $G\ 2 = A\ 2$ is the theory to be preferred.
Objections to the theory.
Answers to the objections.

Summary.

Table 10.

CHAPTER XVIII

VARIOUS THEORIES FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE VISITS IN GALATIANS AND ACTS

With Which of the Visits in Acts are we to Identify the Second Visit in Galatians?

John Knox has noted a rather curious fact that whether we use the letters or the Acts in the reconstruction of Paul's chronology both our sources require that we organize it with reference to the visits to Jerusalem.¹

We now encounter what is agreed to be the most difficult problem presented in our sources, the enigma of these visits. In Galatians Paul mentions only two visits to Jerusalem following his conversion (Gal. 1: 18:24, Gal. 2:1-10); on the other hand, Luke mentions no less than five visits to Jerusalem after Paul's conversion. The first, after he escaped from Damascus, when Barnabas introduced him to the apostles (Acts 9:26-30); the second, when he took the famine relief fund to Jerusalem accompanied by Barnabas (Acts 11:30 and 12:25); the third, when he attended the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (Acts 15:1-30); the fourth, the visit which he made to Jerusalem between his second and third missionary journeys (Acts 18:22); and the fifth, when he visited the Temple in Jerusalem, a visit which resulted in a riot and his being taken into custody by the Romans (Acts 21: 17ff.). The task of combining these references into one continuous narrative

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 51.

in chronological order is recognized by New Testament scholars to be the most important and, at the same time, the most vexing problem in Pauline chronology. Scholars have found little difficulty in identifying the first visit in Galatians with the first visit recorded in Acts. The problem, however, becomes acute when we attempt to identify the second visit to Jerusalem in Galatians with the remaining visits recorded in Acts. We may narrow the problem a little by stating that no commentators believe that the fifth visit in Acts (21:17f.) can be identified with the second visit in Galatians (2:1-10). This leaves us with the question: "With which of the three remaining visits in Acts are we to identify the second visit in Galatians?" Many theories¹ have been suggested in answer to this question and they all quite naturally produce different chronological results. It may be stated here that none of the proposed schemes is entirely free from objections. Our aim shall be to review all the proposed theories with a view to discovering their merits and demerits and if possible, to arrive at the conclusion which does the least violence to both our sources. For purposes of simplicity we shall identify the visits in question as follows:

G 1 Galatians 1:18-24

A 1 Acts 9:26-30

G 2 Galatians 2:1-10

A 2 Acts 11:30 & 12:25

A 3 Acts 15:1-30

A 4 Acts 18:22

A 5 Acts 21:17ff.

¹ G. B. Caird, The Apostolic Age, reduces them to five main theories; pp. 201-209. Cf. D. J. Selby, Toward the Understanding of St. Paul, pp. 196-204.

G 2 = A 3

Those who support this theory¹ use Acts as their primary source and attempt to find a way to make Galatians agree with it. They contend that Paul actually made three visits to Jerusalem but recorded only the first and third because the second was unimportant so far as his argument was concerned since his object in Galatians was the refutation of the accusations brought against him by his opponents concerning the validity of his apostleship. Paul's oath in Gal. 1:20 is understood by those who hold this theory to refer to his independence of those who were apostles before him, and not the chronology of his visits to Jerusalem. They argue that Paul might easily have overlooked a visit to Jerusalem, particularly if it had no bearing on the point in question and if he had not seen any of the Twelve at the time. Furthermore, the internal evidence supports the view that the visit which Acts places third corresponds most closely with the one which Paul records as his second, i.e. G 2 = A 3. The reason given for the two visits is the same. It is true that Acts 15:2-4, 6-12 speaks of a public mission whereas Galatians states that Paul went up by revelation (Gal. 2:2). But these two reasons for going up to Jerusalem are not mutually exclusive. The journey may have been prompted by a revelation and later been sanctioned by the church at Antioch. We have an example of this in Paul's departure from Jerusalem (Acts 9:29, 30), where he was sent away by the brethren because of the threat against his life, and yet

¹ This theory is usually associated with Lightfoot but was previously stated by Conybeare and Howson and subsequently held by many German scholars. Actually the theory G 2 = A 3 is as old as Tertullian and Irenaeus. O. Cullmann adopts this identification of the visits but thinks that Luke was mistaken in attaching the decree to it; this was drawn up later when Paul was not present. See O. Cullmann, Peter, p. 51.

Paul himself tells us that it was because of a trance which Luke says he experienced while praying in the temple (Acts 22:17ff.). The geography of the two visits is the same: Antioch and Jerusalem. The participants are the same. Acts states that Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem accompanied by "certain other gentiles" (Acts 15:2). Paul confirms this but adds the name of Titus (Gal. 2:1). When they arrived at Jerusalem they were received by the whole church including James and Peter. Some Pharisees were also present (Acts 15:5). Paul, on the other hand, adds John to the list but describes a private interview with those in repute. He also mentions that some "false brethren" were present (Gal. 2:4). The supporters of this hypothesis argue that both a public as well as a private meeting may have taken place and Paul's reference to a private meeting does not necessarily exclude a public one. They further argue that the topic under discussion at the two conferences was the same. Both sources relate that the meetings concerned the admission of gentiles to the church and the recognition of Paul's apostleship. Acts speaks of the freedom from the Jewish law and this is implied in the use of the word "uncircumcision" in Galatians where the Apostles acknowledged that the "uncircumcised" might enter the church. Furthermore, the circumcision of Titus was not insisted on.¹ The two sources are written from different points of view: Acts 15 is written with the specific purpose of recording

¹ Scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether Titus was circumcised or not. The Greek text is so ambiguous that either interpretation may be taken from it. Those who support the view that Titus was circumcised often point to Acts 16:3 as a parallel. But the parallel is not conclusive evidence since Timothy's mother was a Jewess and Titus was a Gentile. For a discussion of the grammar of this passage see A. W. F. Blunt, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925, p. 75ff. According to the NEB rendering Titus was not circumcised. An alternative rendering, partly based on the omission of οὐς οὐδε (as given in the "Western" text) is printed in a footnote. Cf. D. W. B. Robinson, "The Circumcision of Titus, and Paul's 'Liberty'", Australian Biblical Review, XII, (1964), p. 28, who takes the view that Paul did circumcise Titus. The Greek uncial MSS (KABDG) except D are unanimous in their support of the negative. It must have been inserted later in D. See J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, pp. 123-24.

the Jerusalem Council's decision to admit Gentiles to the Church and Gal. 2:1-10 refers to the Council's decision only because it supports Paul's claim to independence. It is also claimed that the result of the two meetings was the same. According to Acts the church at Jerusalem approved of what had been taking place at Antioch, and they agreed to add no further burden upon the Christians there other than the necessary things: "that they abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication" (Acts 15:28, 29). It should be noted that the Bezan text omits *καὶ πνικτῶν*, and adds after *πορνείας, καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖτε*, and after *πράξετε, φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι*. Galatians informs us that when those in authority recognized the grace which had been given to Paul and Barnabas they gave to them the right hands of fellowship, signifying their approval of Paul's mission to the Gentiles. The only stipulation made was "that they should remember the poor" which, Paul tells us, he was pleased to do (Gal. 2:10).

Reasons for Rejecting this Identification

This theory has come under fire from many quarters.¹ The argument advanced for Paul's silence concerning the second visit in Acts can hardly be defended in the light of Paul's solemn oath and the fact that such an oversight would have laid him wide open to the attacks of his opponents. Moreover, the characters mentioned in the two accounts are not the same unless we understand Titus to be included in the phrase "certain other

¹ For the argument that the accounts in Gal. 2:1-10 and Acts 15:1-30 are in essential agreement see H. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Meyer's Kommentar, 10th ed.), 1949, pp. 66-77.

gentiles" and it is certainly strange that so distinguished a person as John should be omitted by Luke if he had been present at the Council. But this is an argument from silence and therefore precarious. It is claimed that the meetings are the same, but they are not. The account in Acts describes a public meeting of the Jerusalem church while that in Galatians speaks only of a private interview with those in authority. This difference is fatal to the identification of the two accounts. Either we have a description of two different meetings, or two contradictory accounts of the same meeting. And one of these accounts is not accurate or deliberately falsified. The results of the two meetings which are claimed to be the same are quite different. Acts specifies that the Gentiles were asked to observe certain ceremonial regulations (Acts 15:29) while Galatians states that they were only asked to remember the poor (Gal. 2:10).

The dispute¹ which arose over the question of table-fellowship in Galatians 2:11ff. must have taken place after the meeting described in Galatians 2:1-10 but could hardly have occurred after that recorded in Acts 15:1-30. Otherwise how are we to explain the strange behaviour of the leading apostles? Is it conceivable that within a year of his decision at Jerusalem James could have gone back on his word and persuaded Peter and Barnabas to do the same?

A reference to the decision laid down by the Council in Acts 15 was all that Paul needed to settle the dispute among the Galatians and yet he remains silent about it in Galatians 2:1-10. Lightfoot's argument that Paul did not mention the Apostolic Decree because it was merely a temporary expedient is weak. The more plausible argument for Paul's silence is that

¹ The dispute in Galatians 2:1-10 concerns the sphere of Paul's ministry as contrasted with that of Peter. Paul is recognized as the Apostle to the Gentiles as Peter is to the Jews (later Peter also ministered to the Gentiles - Acts 15:7). The dispute in Gal. 2:11 ff. concerns table-fellowship. See A.W.F. Blunt, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. 84 ff.

the Council had not yet taken place.

Paul's reference in Galatians to James, Peter and John might indeed be taken to refer to the three apostles whose names are linked together in the Gospels. If this assumption is right then the James mentioned would be James the son of Zebedee (Mark 3:17; 10:35) and, therefore, G 2 must have occurred before his martyrdom in A.D. 44 (Acts 12:2), and hence before the Jerusalem Council.¹ However, this argument is based solely on the assumption that the James in question, simply because his name is associated with those of Peter and John, is the son of Zebedee. Whereas, in fact, James the brother of our Lord is the one who figures most prominently in the record of the Early Church and we may assume with confidence that this is the James of whom Paul speaks. The order of the words in the Greek appears to favour this identification (Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης). Since it was James the brother of our Lord who presided at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) it is natural that Paul should have mentioned him first.

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that in view of so many discrepancies A 3 cannot be identified with G 2 without laying a charge of inaccuracy to either Luke's or Paul's account, and since Paul is writing within a few years of the events and seals his statement with an oath it makes Luke's narrative almost total fiction.

¹ For the argument in favour of identifying James of the Jerusalem Council with the son of Zebedee see F. W. Beare, "The Sequence of Events in Acts 9-15 and the Career of Peter", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXII, (1943), p. 305-6.

G 2 = A 2

This is the theory which is most favoured by British scholars¹ and has the advantage of providing a natural interpretation of the visits recorded in G 1 and G 2. It does away with the difficulty of having to explain Paul's silence concerning A 2. It follows, therefore, that according to this identification of the visits, Galatians must be placed before the Apostolic Council of Acts 15, the churches of Galatia being those in the southern part of the Roman province of that name. That is to say, they were the churches which Paul and Barnabas established on their first missionary journey, viz., Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. The Conference of Acts 15 may therefore have taken place after Galatians was written. This theory has several attractive features: (1) The "motive" for the two visits is the same. In Acts 11:27 we read that the reason for the Jerusalem visit was to bring relief to their fellow-Christians in Judaea. Paul's words in Gal. 2:10 confirm this: "All they asked was that we should keep the poor in mind, which was the very thing I had made it my business to do." (2) Paul indicates in Gal. 2:12 that "certain persons who came from James" and disrupted the table fellowship at Antioch arrived after the meeting with the Apostles (Gal. 2:9). If the meeting in Acts 15 took place before the one described in Gal. 2:9-10 then it is the same men who have returned--which is absurd. (3) Paul states in Gal. 2:2 that he went up to Jerusalem by "revelation" and this squares with Agabus' prophecy in Acts 11:28.

¹ W. Ramsay, C. H. Turner, C. J. Cadoux, A. M. Hunter, C. W. Emmet, F. F. Bruce, W. D. Davies, G. Dix and others. It is also the identification of the visits favoured by the Dutch scholar, D. Plooijs.

Objections to this Identification

By way of objection to this theory it has been pointed out that Paul claims that his reason for this visit to Jerusalem was a revelation (Gal. 2:2), whereas according to Luke's statement, he went up to Jerusalem to carry the famine relief fund (Acts 11:30). As we have previously noted, the same objection applies to the identification of G 2 with A 3.

It is further pointed out that the principals engaged in the two visits are the same, i.e. Paul and Barnabas. Knox states that this is the only point of correspondence between the two visits. He argues that it is this identification of Paul and Barnabas which has forced scholars to identify these two visits as being the same.¹

The absence of any reference on the part of Paul to the Jerusalem Council has also raised objections to this identification. Ramsay avoided this difficulty by using the inclusive reckoning for Paul's dates in Gal. 1:18 and Gal. 2:1. Reckoning backwards from the date of the Gallio inscription in A.D. 51, Paul must have arrived in Corinth eighteen months before, i.e. early in A.D. 50. The Apostolic Council took place therefore in A.D. 49, the "famine visit" in A.D. 46 and "fourteen years" (Gal. 2:1) before would bring us to A.D. 36 for his first visit to Jerusalem, and consequently his conversion "three years" earlier in A.D. 33. Many scholars have felt the difficulty of this chronology since it is not consistent with the date which they have fixed for Paul's conversion. Thus Lake attempts to get around the difficulty by altering the text of Gal. 2:1 to read "four"

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 63, n. 1; R. T. Stamm, Galatians, (The Interpreter's Bible), X, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953, p. 439.

instead of "fourteen".¹ But is such an alteration of the text really necessary? If we are satisfied that the period between the Crucifixion and Paul's conversion was not a long one, then the difficulty disappears. Most scholars who accept Ramsay's theory circumvent the difficulty of Paul's silence concerning the Council Decree by arguing that the Council had not yet taken place, for if it had Paul would certainly have mentioned it. It has been argued that although Paul's object was to enumerate all his visits to Jerusalem, a visit which did not support his argument might easily have been passed over, especially if the apostles were not present at the time due to the scattering caused by the persecution of Herod Agrippa. Acts 12:17 informs us that Peter left Jerusalem and we may assume that the others did the same. However, this is a shaky argument in the light of Paul's solemn oath.

Conclusion

This theory results in an early dating of Galatians, which again is not an impossible hypothesis, but must be held in the face of Lightfoot's argument that the internal evidence of Galatians demands that we date it between II Corinthians and Romans.² This question is discussed fully elsewhere.³

$$G\ 2 = A\ 2 + A\ 3$$

¹ K. Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 249f. Cf. p. 146 of this thesis.

² J. B. Lightfoot, The Epistle to the Galatians, (10th ed.), London, Macmillan & Co., 1890, pp. 36-56.

³ Part VI.

Those who favour this theory¹ find the key to the problem of the reconciliation of the narrative of Acts with that of Galatians in the recognition that Paul's two visits to Jerusalem as recorded in Acts 11 and 15 are really one. Luke, they argue, confused two sources, one which referred to the famine relief and the other to the controversy over table-fellowship. From this basis of reasoning it follows that the Apostolic Decree was issued after the agreement at Jerusalem which recognized complete freedom for the Gentile Christians. The confirmation of this is found in Acts 21:25 where James informs Paul, as if for the first time, of the Apostolic Decree. On the evidence of Rev. 2:20-24, it is held that these "decrees" continued to be recognized in the Churches of Asia throughout the first century. If it be objected that Paul and Barnabas were present at the Apostolic Council then the supporters of this theory will reply that since Luke confused his sources, the reference cannot be historically correct. This hypothesis supports the South Galatian view (see Part VI). This theory is usually associated with E. Schwartz.² One of the best statements of it is given by M. Enslin in Christian Beginnings, pp. 228-230. He follows the "Tübingen School" in the view that the early Christian Church was divided into two opposing parties--the Jerusalem Party and the Antioch Party. The theory $G\ 2 = A\ 2 + A\ 3$ rests on the grounds that two accounts of a visit by Paul to Jerusalem were preserved,

¹ There are many variations of this theory but basically it is the one advocated by J. Weiss, C. von Weizsäcker, E. Schwartz, W. Bousset, M. Enslin, J. Wellhausen, K. Lake, A. D. Nock, E. Meyer, C. H. Dodd, Bultmann, and others. See Haenchen, op. cit., p. 58, f.n. 1.

² E. Schwartz, "Zur Chronologie des Paulus", Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Phil-historische Klasse), 1907, pp. 263ff. (As cited by Enslin, Beginnings, p. 229, f.n. 35 and Dupont, Sources, p. 39, f.n. 26.

one by each of the rival parties. Luke when writing Acts came upon these two "sources" of the one visit and thought they must be accounts of two visits, hence he retained both in his story. The Jerusalem Source emphasized the desire of the Antiochene Christians to receive approval of their programme from the Mother Church. This supplies the motive for Paul's visit to Jerusalem. Upon his arrival the leaders listen to his case and give their verdict. The Antioch Source, on the other hand, emphasized the financial disaster in Jerusalem due to the famine. It represents the generosity of the Antiochene Christians in sending immediate relief to their stricken brethren in Jerusalem. The motive for the visit of Paul is therefore not to seek approval of his programme from those in authority but to carry the relief fund. Thus we have two different "sources" with two different viewpoints but accounts of one visit which Luke thought to be two visits. In support of this theory Enslin cites parallels of a similar treatment of "doublets" by Luke in Acts 2:1-13, 4:31; 2:14-36, 3:12-26; 2:37-41, 4:4; 2:42-47, 4:34-37.

Arguments Against this Theory

The chief advantage of this theory is that it explains Paul's silence about the Apostolic Decree in Galatians and I Corinthians. But it raises a great many problems. The chronological scheme which results from this identification makes it impossible to relate the famine visit of Paul and Barnabas with the famine of c. A.D. 46. The most serious difficulty is the charge of inaccuracy laid to Luke's account. It is a recrudescence of the old Tübingen hypothesis and represents the "tendency" in Luke to rewrite his "sources" so as to obscure this rivalry. The argument that the Apostolic Decrees obtained a certain currency throughout

the Early Church is based on the evidence of Rev. 2:20-24. But it is noteworthy that this reference mentions only πορνεία and εἰδωλόθυτα which, according to I Corinthians, were common problems among the Gentile Christians. The passage in Revelation is absolutely silent about refraining from "things strangled" and from "blood", both of which are mentioned in the Apostolic Decree. We may draw from this omission the conclusion that throughout the first century the Church absolutely ignored these two prohibitions. The conclusion that Paul ignored the decrees because they were made in bad faith and therefore, he did not feel duty bound to respect them, is discreditable to the leaders of the Church and is not supported by any other evidence. And the suggestion which follows upon this disruption, that two gospels now emerged--that of the Judaizers and that of Paul--is a repudiation of the unity of the apostolic faith. This by itself is not an argument: but it becomes an argument if one accepts, for example, the general position set forth by Munck in his recent book.¹ The most serious difficulty, however, is the one pointed out by E. Haenchen, namely, that this theory results in a chronological scheme whereby the meeting with the Apostles takes place in the winter of A.D. 43/44 or possibly even a year earlier which does not allow enough time to elapse between Jesus' death and Paul's conversion, even if the Crucifixion were dated in A.D. 29 or 30. Haenchen points out that the interim time would not be sufficient to account for the circumstances of Acts 6. So it is better to place the Apostolic Council in A.D. 48.²

¹ J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, London: S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1959.

² E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 58.

Porter's Theory

This theory, like the one dismissed above, is based on the hypothesis that Acts 15:1-30 and 11:30 and 12:25 are really two accounts of the one visit which Luke confused in his sources. J. R. Porter in an article in the Journal of Theological Studies¹ attempted to reconstruct the historical situation which led up to the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15:23-29. He was of the opinion that the Decree was issued after Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (G 2) and before his first missionary journey. The proposed reconstruction is as follows: Paul's second visit to Jerusalem preceded his first missionary journey although he had already carried out considerable missionary work in Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:22, 2:2). The subject of the dispute during this visit was table-fellowship and the result was the affirmation that the Gentile Christians need not observe the Jewish food laws but this should not hinder fellowship between them and Jewish Christians. Soon after this discussion Peter left Jerusalem as a result of the imprisonment recorded in Acts 12:17, and the ἕτερον τόπον is taken to mean Antioch, thus linking up with Gal. 2:11. Peter's behaviour at Antioch was in accord with the decision reached at Jerusalem, i.e. open-fellowship with the Gentiles (Gal. 2:12, 14). The clue to Peter's sudden change of attitude is found in the arrival of "certain from James" who presumably brought the Apostolic Decree with them. The reason given for this reversal in behaviour by the authorities in Jerusalem is the return of John Mark whose report of a wholesale extension

¹ J. R. Porter, "The 'Apostolic Decree' and Paul's Second Visit to Jerusalem", Journal of Theological Studies, XLVII, (1946), pp. 169-174.

of missionary work in Asia Minor alarmed the Jerusalem authorities and stirred them to impose Jewish regulations on the Gentile Christians in Antioch. It is proposed that John Mark was one of the $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\ \delta\epsilon \ \text{Ἰακώβου}$ who brought the Decree to Antioch. Luke's confusion between his two sources would explain the difference between the two accounts of Paul's quarrel with Barnabas (Acts 15:38, 39; Gal. 2:13). The result of the Decree was that Peter obeying the new instructions from James immediately broke off table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians, incurring the wrath of Paul. Barnabas also showed his allegiance to James by sailing away to Cyprus with John Mark.

This hypothesis, it is claimed, overcomes several difficulties:

- (i) It explains Paul's circumcision of Titus (if Titus really was circumcised) since the circumcision controversy had not yet arisen and Paul could have no objection to circumcising him if there was no question of compulsion.
- (ii) It helps us to identify the "circumcision party" mentioned in Galatians and elsewhere as being other than those associated with James at Jerusalem. It is conjectured that James' party did not demand circumcision but only observance of the food laws. This difference would account for Paul's bitterness toward the "circumcision party" (Gal. 5:2, 10; Phil. 3:2), and his continued respectful attitude towards James (Gal. 1:19; 2:9; I Cor. 15:7), Peter (I Cor. 3:22; 15:5) and Barnabas (I Cor. 9:6).
- (iii) The movements of John Mark are clarified since the difficulty which arises over his presence at Jerusalem in Acts 13:13 and Antioch in Acts 15:37f. is solved. He came down to Antioch as one of those commissioned by James to carry the Apostolic Decree.
- (iv) The outcome of the meeting recorded in Acts 11 can be squared with that

in Gal. 2:9, i.e. complete freedom for Gentile Christians as contrasted with the modified freedom allowed by the decree in Acts 15. (v) It accounts for the appearance of Peter and Paul in Acts 15 which is otherwise very suspicious. (vi) It supports the chronological placing of the second visit to Jerusalem before the Apostolic Council and before any keen dispute had arisen. Paul's second visit, therefore, preceded his first missionary journey and the writing of all his letters.

But after all this may be said in favour of Porter's theory it must be said against it that if the Decree was formulated, as it were, behind Paul's back, then how are we to explain the evidence of Acts 16:4? "As they made their way from town to town they handed on the decisions taken by the apostles and elders in Jerusalem and enjoined their observance." In reply to this criticism I suppose it may be said that this is exactly the kind of summary statement that you would expect Luke to produce, emphasizing the importance of the decrees which to him were vital.

G 2 = A 3 + A 4

The most daring solution to the problem of reconciling the Jerusalem visits and that most favoured by present-day American scholars¹ is that proposed by John Knox. On the basis of his "principle of criticism" Knox uses Paul's letters--Galatians, I and II Corinthians and Romans--

¹ J. Knox, "Fourteen Years Later: A Note on the Pauline Chronology", The Journal of Religion, XVI, (1936), pp. 341-349; "The Pauline Chronology", The Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), pp. 15-29; Chapters in a Life of Paul, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1954. D. W. Riddle, Paul, Man of Conflict, New York & Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940. P. S. Minear, "The Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology", Anglican Theological Review, XXV, (1943), pp. 389-396. C. H. Buck, Jr., "The Collection for the Saints", Harvard Theological Review, XLIII, (1950), pp. 1-29.

as his primary source, and where convenient inserts material from Luke--Acts. He begins by asserting that since Paul mentions only three visits to Jerusalem there cannot have been any others. Knox believes that this point is crucial. He turns first to an investigation of the evidence to be found in the Letters and finds the clue in Gal. 2:1-10 where the only stipulation placed upon Paul and his churches was that they should "remember the poor". Knox rejects the view that this stipulation is a reference to a regular effort on Paul's part to send money to Jerusalem or that it is a reference to some special collection which antedates the offering raised during the period of the Corinthian correspondence. Instead he believes that it is a reference to the offering of which we read so much in I and II Corinthians and Romans. The second visit to Jerusalem (G 2) took place shortly before the writing of the letters and is identified with A 4.

Using only Paul's letters Knox reconstructs Paul's career as follows: Following his conversion Paul stayed in the neighbourhood of Damascus for three years or more. Then he made his first visit to Jerusalem and became acquainted with Peter. He returned to Syria (probably Antioch) and soon after went to Cilicia. The next fourteen years (or eleven) he carried out missionary work in Galatia, Macedonia, Greece and Asia. This activity resulted in increasing opposition from the Jewish Christians until Paul was forced to go to Jerusalem to discuss the problem. The Council ended by giving Paul the right hand of fellowship but with the stipulation that he remember the poor. Paul immediately set about gathering this aid. In Romans he informed his readers that the task was now completed and he was now ready to deliver it in Jerusalem but was apprehensive about what

would happen there. So much for the evidence of the letters.

Knox now turns to the evidence of Acts. His basic principle of investigation is the time of the Council visit. Still arguing from the priority of the Letters as over against the evidence of Acts, he concludes that A 3 (Acts 15:1-29) and A 4 (Acts 18:22) represent one visit and that this visit corresponds with G 2. Luke's error was that he misplaced the famine visit which Knox argues must have occurred after the Council--especially as that is where Paul himself places it.

The Advantages of this Theory According to Knox

The advantages of this theory according to Knox are: (i) The purposes or occasions of the three visits recorded by Paul can be made to coincide with three of the five visits recorded by Luke--Acts. (ii) It eliminates the "silent period" of fourteen (or seventeen) years found in the conventional chronology. (iii) It follows from this that it is no longer necessary to crowd Paul's missionary career into a period too short for it. (iv) It makes possible a more rational reconstruction of Paul's relation with the Judaizers, a conflict which according to Paul's letters increases steadily in intensity until he is driven to Jerusalem to discuss the problem. (v) It also places the collection at the time when Paul's letters reflect its great and growing importance.¹

Objections to Knox's Theory

This theory is very ingenious and if one is disposed to accept the foundation upon which Knox has erected his chronological scheme then the problem of harmonizing the Jerusalem visits of the Letters and Acts is

¹ D. W. Riddle, Paul, Man of Conflict, elaborates the significance of this chronology.

overcome. But, if, as we have previously concluded, we are not prepared to accept Knox's basic premises, then the problems still remain. In fact, as G. B. Caird has stated, Knox's proposed reconstruction "raises as many problems as it solves."¹

We shall turn now to a consideration of these problems. (i) The abandonment of Luke's chronology because of the priority given to the Letters in the reconstruction is extremely arbitrary and, as we have previously seen (Part I), rests upon insecure foundations. (ii) The basic assumption that Paul's letters can be made to provide a complete chronology of his career is certainly faulty and involves largely ignoring the statements in Acts. (iii) A 2 and A 3 are completely ignored in Knox's reconstruction. (iv) The ground for the postponement of the Jerusalem Council because it must have taken place when Paul's conflict with the Judaizers had reached its peak is extremely weak. It could be just as forcefully argued that the conflict was one which reached a crisis at successive stages in Paul's career. (v) The filling in of the "silent years" in Paul's Chronology is undoubtedly useful in constructing a complete outline but the basic assumption is open to question, as G. Ogg has pointed out. "Is such a distribution of activity so constant a feature of the lives of God's servants that we must assume it is the case of Paul's also? Have they no 'silent years' in their lives, no uneventful stretches of time?"² (vi) By placing the Jerusalem Council so late in Paul's career

¹ G. B. Caird, The Apostolic Age, p. 208.

² G. Ogg, "A New Chronology of Saint Paul's Life", Expository Times, LXIV, (1953), pp. 120-123.

Knox has to explain the break with Barnabas, which is difficult to understand if, as is implied in Knox's reconstruction, Barnabas spent the previous fourteen (or eleven) years in helping Paul establish the churches in Philippi, Thessalonica and Corinth. Knox foresees this objection and supports his claim by stating that the only evidence for the break occurring early is in Acts, which Knox largely rejects. He is not at all certain that a break does occur, but if it does he finds a possible reference to it in Gal. 2:13. This reference certainly supports the claim that Barnabas agreed with Peter and "certain others" who brought the decree from James. Knox is arguing on better ground when he points out that Luke also places the rupture with Barnabas following the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:39). This supports Knox's rearrangement of the visits in Acts (A 3 and A 4 = G 2). (vii) Knox's claim that his chronology conflicts with that of Acts only at a few more points than that of the conventional scheme, is an overstatement of his case. It involves a whole new chronological arrangement including that of Paul's letters with the further abandonment of the evidence of Acts.

Funk's Theory

The most recent attempt to solve the difficulty raised by Paul's visits to Jerusalem is that proposed by R. W. Funk in the Journal of Biblical Literature.¹ He sets out to answer the question raised by Knox: "But if there was an offering visit and if it did not occur before the conference, why is it not simplest to suppose that it occurred after the conference--especially as that is where Paul himself places such a

¹ R. W. Funk, "The Enigma of the Famine Visit", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXV, (1956), pp. 130-136.

visit?"¹ The key to the chronological problem presented by the Jerusalem visits is found in the references to the famine visit--"for if Luke had not included it there would not be one too many visits, and hence the attempt to readjust the lists would be unnecessary".² He notes five items which provide the clue for the thesis that the famine visit is an independent tradition which Luke has distorted only by misplacing it in his narrative.

(i) The whole church (not just Paul) was engaged in this collection for the poor.

(ii) The appearance of Agabus in both Acts 11 and Acts 21 is regarded as having no connection with the despatch of the offering, but is a device of Luke's for providing a new setting for the tradition he has received.

(iii) Luke's hint in Acts 24:17 δι' ἑτῶν δὲ πλειόνων ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου παρεγενόμην καὶ προσφοράς provides the real motive for Paul's final visit to Jerusalem and should be considered in the light of Paul's statements in Rom. 15:23-32; I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 8; 9; Gal. 2:10.

(iv) Funk prefers the more difficult reading of the "Neutral" text for Acts 12:25 and concludes that Barnabas and Paul returned to (εἰς) Jerusalem and not to Antioch (as is understood from the earlier reading of ἐξ or ἀπό). He believes that in this more difficult reading we have an inadvertent reference to the proper position of the famine

¹ J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 70.

² Funk, op. cit., p. 131.

visit.¹

(v) Luke's strong apologetic purpose makes him attempt an "orderly" but not necessarily a strictly "chronologically orderly" narrative since he develops his narrative in blocks of similar material. Once the assumption that Luke is telling his story in strict chronological sequence is abandoned, the difficulty presented by the location of the famine visit can be resolved.

This theory has two points in its favour: (1) It removes the difficulty of reconciling the famine visit in Acts with Paul's Jerusalem visits. (2) It demonstrates that Luke did not confuse the visits but rather inserted the famine visit for apologetic purposes where it was more effective.

Conclusion: G 2 = A 2 is the theory to be preferred

It is apparent from the investigations of the various proposals for identifying Paul's Jerusalem Visits in Galatians and Acts that we are faced with what appears to be an irreconcilable difficulty. Unless we are prepared to lay a charge of inaccuracy to one or other of our two sources no solution seems possible. The theory proposed by John Knox and other American scholars offers a means of cutting the Gordian knot, but it is fraught with such grave difficulties, besides conflicting with other evidence which we have arrived at independently, that we must reject it. Perhaps its chief value has been the stimulus which it has provided for scholars to investigate afresh the formidable task of correlating the evidence of Galatians and Acts. Lightfoot's theory, which identified

¹ See P. Parker, "Three Variant Readings in Luke-Acts", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXIII, (1964), pp. 168ff.

Gal. 2:1-10 with Acts 15:1-30 must also be abandoned because of the violence which it does to both sources. The solution proposed by A. D. Nock (pp. 224ff.) and C. H. Dodd (pp. 224ff.) with the modifications suggested by J. R. Porter (pp. 227ff.) overcomes some of the difficulties involved in the other theories. But it casts such grave doubts on the trustworthiness of Acts that it too must be abandoned. The solution of the problem associated with the name of W. M. Ramsay is, in our opinion, the most acceptable in the light of the arguments presented above and the conclusions reached elsewhere in this thesis.

We endeavoured to establish in Part I that both the Acts and the Epistles were trustworthy documents. Luke is not always sensitive to chronological demands but he is an honest historian. This is the sheet anchor upon which our chronology rests. Both Luke and Paul claim to present an accurate record of the facts. Luke wrote in full consciousness of his responsibility as an historian (Luke 1:1-4) and Paul strove to record the absolute truth (Gal. 1:20). It is for this reason that the various theories which are based on the assumption that the evidence of either the Acts or the Epistles is unauthentic must be rejected.

It is true that in the first century the methods of literary criticism and historical research were quite different from what they are today (although they may not have been so different as we sometimes think--see Chap. III) but the standards of honesty have not changed. Both Paul and Luke were men of high standing in the Christian community and to imply, as some of the theories outlined above do, that one or other of them deliberately falsified the facts is quite unjustified.

Objections to the Theory

We have already concluded (pp. 166ff.) that Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1-10) is to be identified with the famine relief visit (Acts 11:27-30 and 12:25) and that this journey took place in c. 47. The main objections against this identification may be summarized as follows:

(1) A serious chronological difficulty is raised by Paul's dates in Gal. 1:18 and 2:1. The events described in Acts 12:1-25 took place at the time of the death of Herod Agrippa I which we have already shown occurred in 44. Now, if Paul arrived in Corinth in 50 then the Apostolic Council probably took place a year earlier in 49. The famine relief visit took place in 47. This scheme hardly leaves enough time for the First Missionary Journey. Moreover, if the famine relief visit is dated in 48 and the first visit to Jerusalem "fourteen years" earlier (i.e., $11 + 3 = 14$ using the inclusive reckoning) then this agrees with the date which we have fixed for Paul's conversion in c. 34/35, but may not seem to leave sufficient time for the growth of the church as depicted in Acts 2-9, i.e. from Pentecost to Paul's conversion.

(2) According to Acts 11:30 the famine relief fund was sent to the "elders" in Jerusalem. How can this be reconciled with Paul's statement that he communicated with "James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars" (Gal. 2:9)?

(3) According to Gal. 2:5 Paul seems to imply that churches had already been established in Galatia. But according to Acts 13-14 these churches were not founded before the relief visit to Jerusalem which we have dated in 47.

(4) In Gal. 2:7, 8, Paul is recognized as the "Apostle to the Gentiles". This could hardly have been said of him at this time (48) since he had only spent a year at Antioch and apparently as an assistant to Barnabas.

(5) The famine relief visit in Acts 11:27-30 and 12:25 makes no mention of any discussions concerning the Jewish-Gentile problems recorded in Gal. 2:1-10. In Acts there is no mention of anything else besides the delivery of the famine relief fund.

(6) According to Gal. 2:2 Paul went up to Jerusalem by revelation (κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν). This, it is claimed, is incompatible with Luke's statement that he went to carry the relief fund (Acts 11:29, 30).

(7) There is also the question of Paul's silence concerning the Apostolic Council. The answer to this question is that Paul did not mention the Council because it had not yet taken place. This results in the dating of Galatians prior to the Council and all of Paul's other letters. How can this early dating of Galatians be squared with Lightfoot's arguments which lead to his statement: "In the interval then between the writing of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Romans, the Galatian letter ought probably to be placed."¹

(8) Finally, John Knox has stated that the only point of correspondence between G 2 and A 2 is that the principals engaged in the two visits are the same, i.e. Paul and Barnabas.

Answers to the Objections

We shall reply to each of these arguments in turn in an attempt

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, (10th ed.), London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1900, p. 55.

to demonstrate that they are not insuperable barriers to the identification of G 2 and A 2.

(1) The chronological objection raised by Paul's dates in Gal. 1:18 and 2:1 can be harmonized with our scheme. If Paul arrived in Corinth in 49 or 50 as we have shown on p. 171, and if the Apostolic Council took place in the summer of 49, then this allows twelve months for the First Missionary Journey, i.e. from the spring of 47 to the spring of 48. This length of time, while shorter than that proposed by many authorities, is nevertheless sufficient to satisfy all the conditions of the journey (see pp. 302ff.). The famine relief visit took place in the early spring of 47. Now it is argued by those who reject the identification of G 2 and A 2 that this dating cannot be reconciled with Paul's statements in Gal. 1:18 and 2:1. But, as we have shown on pp. 135-137, if the Jewish method of reckoning is used then Paul's first visit to Jerusalem took place in c. 37. This visit coincides with his escape from Damascus. This chronology is based on reckoning Paul's dates from the time of his conversion. The chief objection to this chronology is that since we have fixed on 33 as the year of the Crucifixion and the terminus a quo for Paul's chronology, it may not seem to leave sufficient time for the development of the Church prior to his conversion in 34/35. But this period of development need not necessarily have been a long one. Moreover, the chronology suggested above not only agrees with the dates which we have arrived at by external investigation but also does justice to the trustworthiness of our two sources.

(2) The objection that Luke only mentions the "elders" whereas Paul speaks about his conversations with the "pillars"--James, Cephas and

John--is an argument from silence and therefore precarious. It is natural that Paul and Barnabas should have handed over the famine relief money to the "elders" since they were the financial managers of the Church. Moreover, there is nothing in the account in Acts to suggest that the Apostles had actually left Jerusalem under the persecution by Herod Agrippa I. If they did leave Jerusalem temporarily and there is no evidence for this, then they must have returned immediately after his death, especially since Luke tells us that during this period of respite "the word of God grew and multiplied" (Acts 12:24). There is therefore no reason for denying that the Apostles may have been present during the conference described in Gal. 2:1-10.¹

(3) The argument that Paul's reference in Gal. 2:5 implies that churches had already been established in Galatia cannot be proved. Paul's defence of his gospel to the Gentiles does not necessarily apply to any one particular Christian community. There is therefore no reason to think that what Paul says here could not have been said before the founding of the first churches in Galatia and therefore prior to the first missionary journey.

(4) It is argued that if $G_2 = A_2$ then it is difficult to account for the recognition given to Paul as the "Apostle to the Gentiles". This title, it is said, could not have been applied to Paul prior to his first missionary journey. This argument falls to the ground when we remember that Paul's career is marked by great periods of silence. One of these periods occurs during his sojourn in Arabia. What was he doing during this

¹ See W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, p. 53.

period? It is incompatible with what we know of his passionate nature and subsequent missionary zeal to assume that Paul went into Arabia for a period of meditation. P. Bonnard in his recent commentary on Galatians says: "...c'est que ce séjour en Arabie (Gal.) et à Damas (Act.) ne fut pas une retraite silencieuse mais une première activité apostolique."¹

Another period in Paul's career about which our sources give us no information is the one after his escape by way of Caesarea to Tarsus (Acts 9:30). We next hear of Paul when Barnabas goes to find him at Tarsus (Acts 11:25). Here, according to our proposed chronology, we have a period of ten years about which we know practically nothing of Paul's activities. But we may be sure that during this time Paul had not been idle. The fact that when Barnabas saw the success of the mission at Antioch he immediately set out to find Paul is proof that Paul had already demonstrated his ability as the "Apostle to the Gentiles". There is then no reason to believe that prior to his first missionary journey Paul's ability was not recognized by those in authority at Jerusalem. Besides, at his conversion he received this designation (Acts 9:15; 22:15 & 26:17).

(5) Again, the objection that Acts 12:1-25 makes no mention of the conference with those in authority about which Paul writes in Gal. 2:1f. is an argument from silence.

(6) It is often argued that there is a contradiction between Luke's account which informs us that Paul went up to Jerusalem to deliver the famine relief fund and Paul's statement that he went up by revelation. But these two statements are not mutually exclusive as we have previously

¹ P. Bonnard, L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates, Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, S.A., (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, IX), 1952, p. 46.

suggested (p. 216).

(7) The early dating of Galatians which is brought about by the identification of G 2 and A 2 is admittedly a serious difficulty. This question is discussed at some length in Part VI. But even Lightfoot admits that his reasons for placing Galatians after the Corinthian letters "do not amount to a demonstration".¹

(8) The statement of John Knox that "...except for the fact that Barnabas is mentioned with Paul in both these accounts, there is no point of correspondence between them, and it seems fair to say that no one would have thought of the possible identification had it not been for the exigencies of the usual Pauline chronology,"² is misleading. This statement is worded in such a way that it tones down the fact that both Paul and Barnabas are mentioned in both accounts. And Knox's objection that G 2 would never have been identified with A 2 had it not been for the exigencies of the usual Pauline chronology sounds strange coming from one who himself bases his identification of the Visits to Jerusalem on the exigencies of his own chronological scheme. But our identification of G 2 and A 2 does not depend on forcing these visits into any preconceived framework. We have arrived at our conclusions through two independent lines of investigation. The first is the date for the famine during the reign of Claudius, and the second is the "fourteen years" (12 years plus) of Gal. 2:1 for Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, both of which took place in 47.

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 55.

² J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 63, n. 1.

Summary

Assuming therefore that $G\ 2 = A\ 2$ on the grounds of the arguments outlined above, we arrive at the following chronological data:

The visit to Jerusalem in Acts 11:27-30, 12:25 = Gal. 2:1-10.

This visit took place in 47, i.e. 12 years (Jewish method of inclusive reckoning) after Paul's conversion in c. 34/35. (Table 7).

Following this visit to Jerusalem Paul remained for a short period at Antioch, after which he and Barnabas set out on the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13-14), i.e. in the spring of 47.

On their return to Antioch in the spring of 48, Paul and Barnabas spent a long time ($\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu$ - Acts 14:28) with the disciples during which time they attended the Council at Jerusalem in A.D. 48.

Now, if the 14 years of Gal. 2:1 is based on the assumption that Paul was working with a calendar year, and dating his visits to Jerusalem in the same fashion as was used for the reigns of kings and contracts (although there is also the probability that he was simply dating from the event and interval was 13 years plus) then his conversion must have taken place in the spring of 34. These calculations are based on the Gallio inscription. If we assume that the so-called "First Missionary Journey" began in the spring of A.D. 47 then the date for Paul's conversion is the summer of A.D. 34, as the following table shows. (See also Table 7, p. 150).

TABLE 10

FROM PAUL'S CONVERSION TO THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

1	Summer of 34 - Tishri 1, 34 (Oct. 4)
2	Tishri 1, 34 - Tishri 1, 35
3	Tishri 1, 35 - Tishri 1, 36
4	Tishri 1, 36 - Tishri 1, 37
5	Tishri 1, 37 - Tishri 1, 38
6	Tishri 1, 38 - Tishri 1, 39
7	Tishri 1, 39 - Tishri 1, 40
8	Tishri 1, 40 - Tishri 1, 41
9	Tishri 1, 41 - Tishri 1, 42
10	Tishri 1, 42 - Tishri 1, 43
11	Tishri 1, 43 - Tishri 1, 44
12	Tishri 1, 44 - Tishri 1, 45
13	Tishri 1, 45 - Tishri 1, 46
14	Tishri 1, 46 - Spring 47 (Oct. 10)

PART SIX

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPISTLES

CHAPTERS XIX - XXII

CHAPTER XIX

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT A CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EPISTLES

Synopsis

The Epistles under consideration. Wieseler's contribution.

Early attempts at a chronological order of the Epistles.

Marcion's order.

Tertullian's order.

The Muratorian order.

The significance of the number seven.

The length of the Epistles.

Table 11. Order of the Epistles in early canons as compared with A.V.

Conclusion. Early arrangements of the Epistles not based solely on chronological order.

CHAPTER XIX

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT A CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EPISTLES

The Epistles Under Consideration

In the Authorised Version of the New Testament fourteen letters are ascribed to Paul. Since the rise of modern scholarship this number has been reduced to ten (or possibly twelve if we accept the view that the Corinthian correspondence contains four letters). F. C. Baur held that Paul wrote only five epistles--Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, and Philemon.¹ The epistle which is designated TO THE HEBREWS did not bear that title until it came to Alexandria as part of the Pauline Corpus of letters around A.D. 200. W. Manson says: "The Epistle was anonymous. It was not apparently connected at first with the name or authority of any Apostle. It was apparently not known by any distinctive title."² Modern scholars are agreed that both its language and its contents indicate that it is not a genuine Pauline epistle. Of the thirteen remaining letters, two are addressed to Timothy and one to Titus. These are designated as the Pastoral Epistles and are rejected by most scholars as

¹ Recently A. Q. Morton has investigated the authorship of the Pauline epistles with an electronic computer and reached the same conclusion as Baur, Morton's methods of statistical analysis have not been accepted by most scholars. See A. M. Hunter, "New Testament Survey 1939-1964", Expository Times, LXXVI, (1964), pp. 17-18; G. B. Caird, "Do Computers Count", Expository Times, LXXVI, (1964), p. 176; H. K. McArthur, "Computer Criticism", Expository Times, LXXVI, (1965), pp. 367-370. See my article "Did Paul really write those Epistles?" The United Church Observer, (March 15, 1965), N.S., vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 22-23; 40.

² W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1953, p. 2.

unPauline. The great majority of scholars accept P. N. Harrison's scholarly treatment of these epistles in which he demonstrated that they cannot be regarded as Pauline though they do contain genuine Pauline fragments. There remain then of the fourteen letters ascribed to Paul in the Authorised Version only ten. Of these remaining ten epistles the Pauline authorship of Ephesians has not met with general agreement. In Britain, Ephesians is still traditionally ascribed to Paul, but on the Continent and in America scholars have for the most part abandoned this claim. Three notable exceptions to the traditionally conservative British position are those of J. Moffatt, P. N. Harrison and C. L. Mitton who have concluded that it represents the work of an ardent Paulinist. The authorship of Ephesians, therefore, still remains open. For the purpose of this discussion we shall include it in the Pauline corpus. The same thing may be said of Colossians which in America and on the Continent is sometimes regarded as post-Pauline. The two epistles to the Corinthians have been thought by some scholars to contain selections from other Pauline letters, e.g. in I Cor. 5:9 Paul refers to a previous letter of which we have no copy. It is quite possible that part of this "lost" letter may be found in II Cor. 6:14-7:1. Also in II Cor. 2:4 is reference to a "separate" letter which Paul had written. Some scholars have suggested that this is to be found in II Cor. 10-13. These various theories have resulted in different partitions of the two Corinthian epistles. Two examples may be given. Johannes Weiss¹ gives the following arrangement:

¹ J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937, I, pp. 356-7.

- (1) The "lost letter" is contained in II Cor. 6:14-7:1; I Cor. 6:12-20; 10:1-22.
- (2) Paul's reply to the Corinthian letter is contained in I Cor. 7-9; 10:24-11:1; 12:1-16:6 and possibly 16:16-19.
- (3) Another letter dealing with "party spirit" included I Cor. 1:1-6:11, and 16:10-14, 22-24.

Maurice Goguel¹ suggests the following division:

- (1) II Cor. 6:14-7:1; I Cor. 6:12-20; 10:1-22.
- (2) I Cor. 5:1-6:11; 7:1-8:13; 10:23-14:40; 15:1-58; 16:1-9, 12.
- (3) I Cor. 1:10-4:21; 9:1-27; 16:10-11.

These theories are all reasonable possibilities, especially when we remember that Paul must have had considerable correspondence in dealing with the complex troubles at Corinth. We shall assume for the purpose of this study that Paul wrote four letters to the Corinthians and that we have them embodied in the present Corinthian correspondence in the canon of the New Testament. There remain twelve letters--I and II Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, 1-9; 6:14-7:1 and 10-13, Romans, Galatians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians² and Philemon--which must be fitted into the Pauline chronology.

Wieseler's Contribution

The most outstanding treatment of this subject is K. Wieseler's Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters which was published in 1848.

¹ M. Goguel, "Les Epîtres Pauliniennes", Introductions au Nouveau Testament, IV, (1926), pp. 72-86.

² Some scholars think that Philippians contains parts of three letters by the Apostle Paul written on different occasions and possibly to a different group of readers. See F. W. Beare, The Epistle to the Philippians (Black's New Testament Commentaries), London: A. & C. Black Ltd., 1959, p. 24ff. For our present purpose we shall treat it as one letter.

But in the past century so many contributions have been made to New Testament scholarship that today Wieseler's work is out-of-date. However, no book has been written since which compares with his comprehensive treatment of the subject.

Early Attempts at a Chronological Order of the Epistles

Marcion's Order

C. L. Mitton writes that: "The order of Paul's letters in the English New Testament is not the order of the original Pauline Corpus."¹ Our earliest evidence for the order of the epistles is found in Marcion's "New Testament" which dates from around A.D. 140. The Marcionite "New Testament" was divided into two parts--The "Gospel" and the "Apostle". It is the latter which concerns us. The actual text of the "Apostle" has been lost but we know what it contained from the attacks made against Marcion by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Adamantius and Epiphanius. On the basis of this evidence we know that Marcion's "Apostle" contained ten letters and lacked the Pastorals and the Epistle to the Hebrews. J. Knox says that "we can be as sure as though we had a Marcionite Bible before us that its Apostle section contained, at least in substance, Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans, I and II Thessalonians, Ephesians with the title (Laodiceans), Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians...and it contained them in approximately, if not exactly, that order."² He derives this

¹ C. L. Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, London: Epworth Press, 1955, p. 62.

² J. Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, Chicago: University Press, 1942, p. 41f.

evidence from Tertullian's treatise Against Marcion.¹ Marcion's order as listed by Tertullian is confirmed by Epiphanius.² We can thus be quite certain how the order in Marcion's "Apostle" stood. The only possible exception is that of Philemon and Philippians, about which Tertullian and Epiphanius seem to disagree. Tertullian places Philemon last whereas Epiphanius puts Philippians in the final place.³

J. Knox is convinced that Marcion did not separate I and II Thessalonians and I and II Corinthians as our New Testament canon does but regarded them as single units.⁴ The so-called Marcionite Prologues Ad Corinthios and Ad Thessalonicenses indicate that only one epistle is being introduced in each case. Knox finds support for this claim in an examination of the salutation paragraphs of the ten letters. As a result of this examination he finds that I and II Thessalonians and I and II Corinthians begin in almost identical fashion. Knox concludes that the salutation in one of them is an editorial product.⁵ C. L. Mitton in commenting on Knox's theory says: "This is remarkable, because Paul's letters generally show a divergence in matters of detail in their opening sentences."⁶ Knox's conclusion is that originally these Thessalonian and Corinthian epistles were one unit with an introduction to each. Later when

¹ Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, iv, 5.

² Epiphanius, Panarion, 1, Haer. xlii.

³ Knox, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴ Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, p. 44.

⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

⁶ Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, p. 63.

they were divided some editor transferred verbatim the introductory greeting from the first letter in each case and attached it to the second.

Knox also finds that two other letters, while not showing as close a parallel in their opening sentences, nevertheless show some resemblance. This is the case of Ephesians and Colossians. Mitton accounts for this resemblance on the theory that the author of Ephesians had a copy of Colossians before him.

Tertullian's Order

It is difficult to determine the exact order of the epistles in Tertullian's canon. But as Knox says: "One would gather from Adv. Marc. iv. 5 that Tertullian's own order was Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Romans."¹ It will be noted that Colossians is omitted from this list. One striking similarity between this order and that of the Muratorian canon is that both begin and end with the same epistle.

The Muratorian Order

The order of the letters in the Muratorian canon² which was formed around A.D. 200 (probably at Rome) is as follows: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans and Philemon. In addition, we are told that Paul wrote to Titus and twice to Timothy, and there were also two letters to the Corinthians and two to the

¹ Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, p. 44, n. 6.

² So called after the Italian scholar, L. A. Muratori, who discovered the corrupt seventh or eighth century Latin manuscript in 1740. It is generally recognized to be a translation of a second century Greek catalogue of books suitable for reading as scripture in the churches. For an English translation of the Muratorian Canon see Hennecke-Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, I (trans. by R. McL. Wilson), London: Lutterworth Press, 1963, pp. 42-44.

Thessalonians. Knox suggests that "perhaps it is the result of an early attempt to place the letters in their chronological order, although in that event it is difficult to see by what possible chance Philippians was assigned so high a place in the list."¹ He calls attention to a very curious fact that the Muratorian order with the exception of Ephesians, Corinthians, Galatians and Philemon is exactly opposite to that of Marcion. He assumes that the original corpus was copied from two rolls--Ephesians and Corinthians on one, and Romans, Thessalonians, Galatians, Colossians-Philemon, and Philippians on the other. He suggests that it is possible that some scribe copied the letters in reverse order. This would indeed be the case if the rolls had been read through and not re-wound again. However, Knox concludes that "this supposition is probably altogether too fanciful, but that one of two earlier lists of the letters of Paul--that of Marcion--indicates an order in the original collection which our other earliest list exactly reverses is, to say the least, interesting."²

The Significance of the Number Seven

In ancient times the number seven was regarded as sacred. It represented completeness and thus would have a special attraction for the compiler of the New Testament canon. It is possible that this attitude toward the number seven was responsible for the combination of the letters to the Thessalonians and Corinthians. Mitton suggests this was probably

¹ Knox, op. cit., p. 71.

² Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, p. 72.

the case in Philippians also.¹ In this way the ten letters in the corpus were reduced to seven, a number which would give them a special significance. Knox says that the author of the Muratorian Canon "tells us that the 'Apostle Paul following the example of his predecessor John' wrote to seven churches".² The author of the Muratorian Canon has his facts reversed. John must have followed the example of Paul, not the other way around. But it is surely false to suggest that the whole elaborate symbolism of the number seven in Revelation is derived from the belief that Paul wrote letters to seven churches! In New Testament times a special significance was undoubtedly attached to the number seven but to suggest that this symbolism had any real bearing on the number of Paul's epistles is unwarranted.³

The Length of the Epistles

Mitton thinks that "the length of the epistles seems to have influenced their order from the first".⁴ In Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament the number of pages covered by each epistle is given as follows:

¹ Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus, p. 70.

² Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, p. 54. The Latin text of this passage from the Muratorian Canon is given by Westcott as follows: "...cum ipse beatus apostolus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui johannis ordine non nisi nomenati septuaginta ecclesias scribat ordine tali..." History of the Canon of the New Testament, p. 534, as quoted by Mitton, Ibid., p. 69, n. 4.

³ W. M. Ramsay, The Letters to the Seven Churches, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904, pp. 180ff. suggested that these seven churches were situated geographically in a circle, but this argument we reject. Seven was symbolically the perfect number and represented the church universal, so that in writing to seven churches John was writing to the whole ecumenical church.

⁴ Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus, p. 62.

Romans 26, I Corinthians 24, II Corinthians 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, Galatians 8 $\frac{1}{4}$, Ephesians 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, Philippians 6, Colossians 6, I Thessalonians 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, II Thessalonians 3, and Philemon 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. It will be noted that Ephesians is the only epistle which does not conform to this order, which is the order in which the epistles appear in our New Testament. The length of the epistles may well have been the determining factor in the ordering of the epistles from the first as Mitton suggests, but it was not the length which influenced Marcion's order nor can this be used to determine the order in which Paul wrote his letters.

TABLE 11

ORDER OF THE EPISTLES IN EARLY CANONS AS COMPARED WITH A.V.

AUTHORISED VERSION	MARCION'S CANON	TERTULLIAN'S CANON	MURATORIAN CANON
ROMANS	GALATIANS	CORINTHIANS	CORINTHIANS
CORINTHIANS	CORINTHIANS	GALATIANS	EPHESIANS
GALATIANS	ROMANS	PHILIPPIANS	PHILIPPIANS
EPHESIANS	THESSALONIANS	THESSALONIANS	COLOSSIANS
PHILIPPIANS	EPHESIANS	EPHESIANS	GALATIANS
COLOSSIANS	(Laodiceans)	ROMANS	THESSALONIANS
THESSALONIANS	COLOSSIANS		ROMANS
TIMOTHY	PHILEMON		PHILEMON
TITUS	PHILIPPIANS		
PHILEMON			

Conclusion

In conclusion, we may quote the opinion of Moffatt regarding the influences which determined the order of the Gospels and Epistles: "The division and arrangement of the gospels thus appear to have been determined partly on chronological grounds, partly from considerations of internal value or even of size, partly from ecclesiastical ideas of the author's rank, and partly from arbitrary fancies--or, at any rate, from

what seem arbitrary and unintelligible to a modern. All these features are further illustrated in the disposition of the Pauline and catholic epistles."¹

¹ J. Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, p. 16.

CHAPTER XX

THE DATE OF GALATIANS

Synopsis

Place assigned to it by Marcion.

Place assigned to it in the Muratorian Canon.

Question of the date bound up with question of destination.

North Galatian theory - A.D. 52 or 55

South Galatian theory - wider choice

- (A) Was the Epistle written before or after the Council (Acts 15) in 49?
 - (i) Gal. 2:1-10 Acts 15. Impossible hypothesis.
 - (ii) The τὸ πρότερον of Gal. 4:13.
- (B) The Decree in Acts 15:23ff.
- (C) Arguments against early dating of Galatians.
 - (i) Circumcision of Titus.
 - (ii) Literary resemblances between Gal. and II Cor. and Rom.

Reasons for rejecting these arguments.

Conclusion: Galatians written before the Council in 49.

Note: The Date Assigned to Galatians by Knox.

Summary of the Evidence.

CHAPTER XX

THE DATE OF GALATIANS

Place Assigned to Galatians by Marcion and Muratorian Canon

Among the Pauline epistles none has proved more difficult to date than the epistle to the Galatians.

In the previous discussion on pages 250 and 251 we noted that the heretic Marcion placed Galatians first in his canon. But as Moffatt says: "Galatians occupied the first place in Marcion's list of the Pauline letters; but, as Thessalonians is put after Romans, it is obvious that Marcion either arranged the epistles unchronologically, or had no sure tradition upon their relative position. The former is probably the true solution (cf. Tert. adv. Marc. v. 2). Galatians was put in the forefront as Paul's battle-cry against the Judaism which Marcion detested."¹ Marcion is the first to mention the epistle by name. A generation later in the Muratorian canon (c. A.D. 200) Galatians is placed fifth in the order of Paul's letters.

The Question of Date Bound up with Destination

We must now look at the evidence to determine whether or not we can arrive at any definite conclusion concerning the date of this epistle.

The dating of this epistle is bound up with the question of its destination. Was Galatians written to the churches in north or south

¹ J. Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, pp. 102f.

Galatia? The debate over this question as Moffatt has remarked "... is as warm and intricate as that waged over the problem of Hannibal's route across the Alps".¹ If the epistle was written to churches in north Galatia then it was probably written after the visits to that territory recorded in Acts 16:6 and 18:23 (if that is what is meant). On this hypothesis the letter was probably written from Ephesus around 53, or from Macedonia or Corinth around 55/56. On the other hand, if the view which we have advocated in this thesis is taken, viz. that the churches in question occupied the southern part of Galatia, then a much wider margin of choice is given for dating the epistle. The question arises, was Galatians written before or after the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15?

(A) Was the Epistle Written before or after the Council (Acts 15) in 49?

Those who favour a date after the Council use the following arguments to support their claim; (1) They identify the conference described in Gal. 2:1-10 with that recorded in Acts 15. Lightfoot² adduced five arguments in support of this theory: (1) The geography of the visits was the same. (2) The persons were the same: Paul and Barnabas; Peter and James. (3) The subject of the dispute was the same. (4) The general character of the conference was the same: a prolonged and hard fought contest. (5) The result was the same: the exemption of Gentiles from the Law and the recognition of the apostolic commission of Paul and Barnabas. We have previously considered this theory (Part V) and concluded that in fact every one of Lightfoot's five points of similarity is open to question. We concluded that in view of so many discrepancies, Gal. 2:1-10

¹ J. Moffatt, Ibid., p. 90.

² J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, London: Macmillan & Co., 1890, p. 123f.

could not possibly be identified with Acts 15 without laying a charge of inaccuracy against either Paul or Luke; and since Paul is writing within a few years of the events and seals his statement with a solemn oath, then this makes Luke's account almost total fiction. (ii) Paul's use of τὸ πρότερον in Gal. 4:13 is taken to be a reference to two former visits to the Galatians, viz., Acts 13, 14 and 16:3, 16:6. It follows from this interpretation of τὸ πρότερον that the letter must have been written after Acts 16:3, as has been suggested above, probably from Ephesus around 53 or from Macedonia or Corinth around 55. The Epistle must therefore have been written after the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. This interpretation of τὸ πρότερον however, does not stand or fall with the dating of Galatians after the Council of Acts 15. It is sometimes argued that the conditions for the two visits implied in the τὸ πρότερον of Gal. 4:13 are fulfilled in Paul's first missionary journey. The narrative of Acts informs us that after reaching Derbe, Paul returned and revisited the churches of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch (Acts 14:21). Apparently he had not been away from them very long when he wrote his letter because he is astonished that they are "turning so quickly away from him who called you by grace, and following a different gospel" (Gal. 1:6). Thus Galatians might still have been written before the Council of Acts 15, and on this theory the Epistle must have been addressed to the inhabitants of south Galatia. These arguments are open to serious question since nowhere else in the New Testament is τὸ πρότερον used to mean the earlier of two visits.¹ The term means simply a condition of affairs in

¹ Cf. John 6:62, 9:8; I Tim. 1:13.

the past in contrast with the present situation. Any argument, therefore, which is based on the supposition that Paul must have made two previous visits to the recipients of the letter is entirely ultra vires.

(B) The Decree in Acts 15:23ff.

The main argument used by those who place Galatians before the Council of Acts 15 is that no mention is made of the Decree which is given in Acts 15:23f.¹ This Decree required that Gentile Christians abstain from four things: meats offered to idols, blood, things strangled and unchastity (Acts 15:29). If this Decree had been passed before Paul wrote to the Galatians then why did he not refer to it? A reference to this Decree was all he needed to clinch his argument, yet he remains silent. "This is really so extraordinary", says Blunt, "as to make it nearly incredible that the letter was written after the Council."² But this omission is even more incredible when we are told that Paul delivered the Decree himself to the churches in South Galatia (Acts 16:4). Is it possible that in writing to them he would not remind them of the terms in the Decree? The trouble with this argument is that it proves too much. If we argue that Galatians must have been written before the Apostolic Conference, because otherwise Paul would have mentioned the Decree, we must be consistent and add that I Corinthians was written before the Conference, because otherwise Paul would have mentioned the Decree in dealing with meats offered to

¹ Perhaps there is a reference to the Decree in Gal. 2:6b--"but on the contrary acknowledged that I had been entrusted with the Gospel for Gentiles as surely as Peter had been entrusted with the Gospel for Jews". On the problem of the Decree see C. von Weizsäcker, The Apostolic Age, pp. 199-216.

² A. W. F. Blunt, The Epistle to the Galatians, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 22.

idols.

(C) Arguments Against Early Dating of Galatians

Two arguments which are often given against this early dating of Galatians cannot be overlooked. (1) It is argued that Paul would not have circumcised Timothy (Acts 16:3) after writing so vigorously against the necessity for circumcision in this Epistle. Two replies may be made to this argument: (i) Timothy was the child of a mixed-marriage. His mother was a Jewess and his father a Greek. Paul seems to have accepted him as a Jew and Paul never said that circumcision was not necessary for Jews. But in Gal. 2 Paul calls Titus "Ἑλλήν". It is not certain that Titus actually was circumcised. (ii) Timothy was Paul's travelling companion and as such would often share with him the hospitality of a Jewish home where an uncircumcised man would be an unwelcome guest. We know that Paul never considered circumcision as necessary for salvation¹ for in this Epistle he writes: "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh love" (Gal. 5:6). (2) The literary resemblances between Galatians and II Corinthians and Romans were pointed out by Lightfoot. He concluded that "In the interval between the writing of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Romans, the Galatian letter ought properly to be placed."² Recently, C. H. Buck, Jr., has re-examined Lightfoot's hypothesis and thinks that his examination of Paul's technical vocabulary--Spirit (πνεῦμα), Flesh (σὰρξ), Faith (πίστις), and Work (ἔργον) enables us to

¹ This is well presented in Blunt's commentary, Ibid., pp. 23ff.

² J. B. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 55.

date Paul's conflict with the Judaizers. Thus he writes, "It can now be stated with assurance that his conflict arose during the collection, about which we hear for the first time in I Corinthians."¹ He concludes that at the time Paul wrote Galatians he had been to Europe at least once and "the possibility that he had also been to 'North Galatia' is therefore somewhat enlarged".² Consequently he dates the Epistle after II Corinthians 1-9 and before Romans.

It seems to us that the argument based on the literary resemblances between Galatians and II Corinthians and Romans is outweighed by the historical and chronological evidence for dating it the earliest of Paul's epistles. The dangers involved in drawing conclusions from literary affinities may be summed up in the words of two modern scholars. Thus G. S. Duncan writes: "But we do say emphatically that arguments based on alleged affinities of vocabulary or of doctrine may, if used unwarily, lead to very misleading results. In a problem that is primarily historical such evidence ought never to be used to provide in itself a sure basis for exact conclusions."³ And A. W. F. Blunt says: "The idea that, because Paul at one particular period of his life cast his thought on a particular topic in one mould, he would not therefore be likely at another period to revert to the old mould when the same topic engaged him, is an idea that has little in common with the actual facts of men's mental processes."⁴

¹ C. H. Buck, Jr., "The Date of Galatians", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXX, (1951), p. 121.

² Ibid., p. 121.

³ G. S. Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, pp. 12ff.

⁴ A. W. F. Blunt, op. cit., p. 25.

Conclusion

The historical difficulties involved in placing Galatians in the same period as II Corinthians and Romans, and the chronological difficulties involved in the identification of Gal. 2:1 with Acts 15, make it impossible for us to accept the view of those authorities who date Galatians after the Apostolic Council of Acts 15. We conclude, therefore, that Galatians was written before the Council in 49 and is therefore the earliest of Paul's extant epistles.

NOTE: The Date Assigned to Galatians by John Knox

John Knox in his book Chapters in a Life of Paul develops the thesis which he had previously stated in two articles¹ and argues that Galatians must be dated after Corinthians and Romans since "Galatians could not have been written until after the "conference" visit (since it refers to it as having occurred), and the "conference" visit took place only just before the taking of the collection for the poor at Jerusalem, referred to as in progress when the Corinthian letters were written".² He thinks, therefore, that Galatians must have been written around 51. Knox's theory for the dating of the Epistle is based on his identification of the Visits to Jerusalem which we have discussed in Part V and rejected because of the violence which it does to the evidence of Acts.

¹ J. Knox, "'Fourteen Years Later': A Note on the Pauline Chronology", Journal of Religion, XVI, (1936), pp. 341-349; "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), pp. 15-29.

² J. Knox, "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII, (1939), p. 26.

CHAPTER XXI

WHEN AND WHERE WERE THE EPISTLES WRITTEN?

Synopsis

Two categories - Epistles written from prison and Epistles written on journeys.

Lightfoot's four chronological groups. (Table 12).

Turner's chronological order.

Four recent contributions to the question.

- (1) The work of P. N. Harrison.
- (2) The theory of G. S. Duncan.
(Table 13).
The contribution of C. H. Dodd.
- (3) The theory of C. L. Mitton.
- (4) The argument of J. Knox.

CHAPTER XXI

WHEN AND WHERE WERE THE EPISTLES WRITTEN?

Two Categories--Epistles Written from Prison and Epistles Written on Journeys

The Pauline Epistles may be roughly divided into two categories--those which were written on journeys and those which were written from prison. In the first group are I and II Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. The second group contains Colossians, Philippians and Philemon. Since scholars are divided in their opinion concerning the authorship of Ephesians for our present discussion we shall include it in the second category along with the Pastoral Epistles (I and II Timothy and Titus) though these latter were not necessarily written from prison.

Lightfoot's four chronological groups

Almost a century has passed since Lightfoot wrote: "The Epistles of St. Paul may be divided into four chronological groups, each group being separated from the next by an interval of about five years, each group again corresponding to a marked epoch in the Apostle's life, and representing a distinct phase in his teaching."¹ We reproduce below an outline of Lightfoot's scheme.

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, "The Chronology of St. Paul's Life & Epistles", (1863), Biblical Essays, London: Macmillan & Co., 1893, p. 224.

TABLE 12

LIGHTFOOT'S SCHEME FOR THE ORDER AND DATE OF THE EPISTLES

PERIOD	EPISTLES	DATES
1. Second Missionary Journey	I & II Thessalonians	A.D. 52,53
2. Third Missionary Journey	I & II Corinthians Galatians Romans	A.D. 57,58
3. First Roman Captivity	Philippians Ephesians Colossians Philemon	A.D. 62,63
4. After the Release including the Second Roman Captivity	I Timothy Titus II Timothy	A.D. 67,68

Turner's Chronological Order

C. H. Turner in his article on the "Chronology of the New Testament"¹ represents the opinion of scholars at the end of the last century. He states confidently that I and II Thessalonians were written during Paul's stay at Corinth on his second missionary journey (I Thess. 1:1; 3:1; 2:6; II Thess. 1:1) soon after he had left Athens (A.D. 50-51). He gives two alternatives for the dating of Galatians: (1) the terminus a quo is some time during the first missionary journey, i.e. after A.D. 48, and (2) the terminus ad quem is determined on the basis of Lightfoot's theory that in style, subject matter and general tone Galatians represents the transition between II Corinthians and Romans. "The Galatian Epistle

¹ C. H. Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, (1911), pp. 403-425.

must be earlier than the Roman, earlier than A.D. 56; nothing more can be asserted positively, so far."¹ Turner assigns the Pastoral Epistles outside the chronology of Acts and appears to accept the opinion of Harnack that as a whole these epistles are to be rejected in a reconstruction of Pauline chronology though they do contain genuine accounts of Paul's movements after his release from captivity in Rome. He cites the following passages as relevant: I Tim. 1:3; Tit. 1:5; Tit. 3:12; II Tim. 4:13, 20.

Four Recent Contributions to the Question

Since these two chronological schemes were published four important contributions in English have been made to the problem:

(1) The Work of P. N. Harrison

P. N. Harrison in his Problem of the Pastoral Epistles published in 1921 has made a careful study of the language of the Pastorals and concludes that they could not possibly have been written by Paul. More recently Harrison has reconsidered his book in the light of thirty-four years of criticism and says that--"In all its main features I believe the hypothesis advocated in that book to be the true solution of this problem."² Harrison believes that the author of the Pastorals was a sincere Paulinist who faithfully reflected the mind of the Apostle. The unknown author drew upon two sources for his material: (i) A collection of ten Pauline letters made at Ephesus. (ii) Several brief personal notes from Paul's own hand written to Timothy or Titus (II Tim. 1:15-18, 3:10, 11, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 9-15,

¹ Ibid., p. 423.

² P. N. Harrison, "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered", Expository Times, LXVII, (1955), p. 77.

16-19; Tit. 3:12-15).¹ The language in which these two sources is written is Paul's own, while the rest of the language in the Pastorals is Greek of the first half of the second century and includes a number of words and phrases which were unknown in Paul's day.²

The most important question for us is: When did Paul write these personal notes to Timothy and Titus? Harrison thinks that Paul must have written the personal note found in Tit. 3:12-15 from Nicopolis in Epirus.³ It was here that Paul was "comforted by the coming of Titus" (II Cor. 7:6). He is of the opinion that II Tim. 4:9-15 was written at Nicopolis soon after Titus had gone on to Dalmatia to follow up Paul's visit to Illyricum (Rom. 15:19). Titus returned to Corinth after this (II Cor. 8:16ff.). Harrison is convinced that the personal note found in II Tim. 1:15-18, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 16-19, is Paul's last letter and "it refers to the preliminary hearing (prima actio) before Nero and Tigellinus in or about A.D. 62, when Tigellinus had succeeded Burrus as chief of the praetorian guard (Tac. Ann. xiv. 51 f.)".⁴

When Harrison published his book in 1921 he believed, as did most New Testament scholars, that the "prison epistles" were written during Paul's Roman detention recorded in Acts. He therefore concluded that II Tim. 4:9-12--which reported the defection of Demas--must have belonged to a note written from Rome some time after the writing of Colossians and

¹ In his book Harrison regarded II Tim. 4:9-12, 13-15 as two separated notes. He now regards them as belonging together. Ibid., p. 80.

² Ibid., p. 77.

³ Ibid., p. 80; The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, p. 115ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 80.

Philemon, in both of which Demas is still with Paul. From this it followed that II Tim. 4:13-15 must be a different note since Paul had recently been at Troas and warns Timothy concerning Alexander the copper-smith who did him much harm there. But since the publication of Duncan's book St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry in 1929, the possibility that these "prison letters" may have been written at Ephesus has been somewhat enlarged. (A. Deissmann advanced this theory as long ago as 1897.) Harrison now believes "that Philemon and most of Colossians (and a letter to the Laodiceans--Col. 4:16--now long lost) were written by Paul as a prisoner towards the end of his Ephesian ministry."¹ On this assumption Harrison concludes that there is no longer any need to separate these two notes. The postscripts to these verses in II Tim. 4:20, 21a, all belong together and refer to Paul's sorrowful second visit to Corinth (II Cor. 13:1f.) where he left Erastus. He finds confirmation for this in Rom. 16:23. After leaving Corinth Paul returned to Ephesus via Miletus where he was forced to leave Trophimus who was sick.

Harrison still thinks that according to his original theory Philip-
pians was written by Paul at Rome² though Duncan believes there was not sufficient time during the two years of Acts 28:30 for all the journeys between Rome and Philippi.

(2) The Theory of G. S. Duncan

As we have already intimated, the second significant publication

¹ Ibid., p. 80; Cf. "Onesimus and Philemon", Anglican Theological Review, (1950), p. 120.

² Ibid., p. 81; Paulines and Pastorals, p. 94.

was G. S. Duncan's St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, published in 1929.¹

In this book Duncan advocated the thesis that all the "imprisonment epistles" (Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon and Philippians) were written from Ephesus. The chronological order which Duncan proposes is: Philippians, Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians. Duncan writes: "Colossians and Ephesians are admittedly later than I Corinthians. It is also urged (with good reason, I think) that they appear to be later than Romans."²

Concerning this hypothesis C. H. Dodd has said: "The Ephesian hypothesis is the most serious challenge that has been offered to the generally accepted view of the chronological order of the Pauline corpus."³

The Contribution of C. H. Dodd

C. H. Dodd in a paper entitled "The Mind of Paul: Change and Development" in The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (1934) and now republished in his book New Testament Studies (1953), advances the theory that "about the time he wrote II Corinthians (Paul) underwent a significant spiritual experience which left its mark".⁴ Duncan is in essential agreement with Dodd about this, but prefers to put this "significant spiritual experience" earlier than Dodd, namely, during Paul's ministry at

¹ Duncan has followed up this book with three articles in the Expository Times, xliii. 7. (Oct. 1931); xlvi. 293. (April 1935); lxvii. 163. (Mar. 1956); and two articles in New Testament Studies, III. 211 (May 1957); V. 43 (Oct. 1958).

² G. S. Duncan, "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered", Expository Times, lxvii, (1956), p. 165.

³ C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, Manchester: University Press, 1953, p. 107.

⁴ C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, p. 84.

Ephesus.¹ This is reflected in the "imprisonment epistles". Using the marked stages of this experience as a guide to chronology, Duncan rearranges the order of the epistles as follows:

TABLE 13

DUNCAN'S SCHEME FOR THE ORDER AND DATE OF THE EPISTLES

SPIRITUAL STAGE	IMPRIS- ONMENT	EPISTLE	DATE
1. Severe tension and Turmoil	I	Philippians I Corinthians	Summer A.D. 54 Winter A.D. 54-55
2. Great Illumination Riot at Ephesus	II	Colossians Ephesians Hints in II Cor. Philemon	Spring A.D. 55 " " "
3. After Paul had left Ephesus	III	II Corinthians	Summer A.D. 56

Although Duncan's theory for the Ephesian origin of Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians and Philemon has been favourably received by many New Testament scholars, it has not been universally accepted and his case for Ephesians is entirely negligible. C. L. Mitton in his recent book on Ephesians has noted this weakness in Duncan's argument.²

(3) The Theory of C. L. Mitton

This serves to introduce the third important contribution to the problem of the chronology of Paul's epistles--C. L. Mitton's careful study The Epistle to the Ephesians published in 1951. In this book Mitton

¹ G. S. Duncan, op. cit., p. 166.

² C. L. Mitton, The Epistle to the Ephesians, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951, p. 5.

reached the conclusion, though admittedly not without a measure of reluctance, that the Pauline authorship could no longer be sustained. After a careful analysis of the literary relationship between Ephesians and the other Pauline epistles Mitton proposed the theory that the author of Ephesians had a collection of Paul's letters before him. On the grounds that (i) it is most unlikely that Paul ever had such a collection and (ii) even if he had he would not have used such a collection to write a new letter, Mitton rejected the Pauline authorship.

In an article in the Expository Times (1956) Mitton comments on further contributions to the solution of this problem which have appeared since he wrote his book. The most outstanding contribution in his opinion is Die Probleme der Kolosser - und Epheserbriefe by Ernst Percy. Percy concludes that Paul was the author of both Colossians and Ephesians. He notes striking differences between both these epistles and the other Pauline letters. But he argues that these differences can be explained on the grounds that (i) a considerable interval of time separates these epistles from the others, and (ii) the theme of Colossians and Ephesians is different. He shows that a similar degree of difference separates Ephesians from Colossians as separates Colossians from the other epistles. Percy believes that if Paul wrote both these letters then he must have written them about the same time. His main reason for retaining the Pauline authorship for Ephesians is the absence of any acceptable set of circumstances which could have produced it. But as we have previously noted on pages 19ff. the theory proposed by E. J. Goodspeed and J. Knox meets this objection. They suggest that the Pauline corpus did not come into being until some disciple of Paul (years after his death, around A.D.

90) collected the letters and published them. Ephesians, they argue, was composed by this unknown disciple (Onesimus?) to serve as an Introduction to the Corpus.¹

Although Mitton's book is an outstanding contribution to the question of authorship and date of Ephesians, the problem as a whole still remains unsettled. Two possibilities are therefore open to us. If we reject the Pauline authorship then the problem is resolved and we no longer need to find a place for Ephesians in the chronological sequence of Paul's letters. Mitton puts the terminus a quo in A.D. 87 and the terminus ad quem in A.D. 92. If, on the other hand, we accept the Pauline authorship we must find a place for the writing of the epistle in our chronology. On the basis of linguistic, stylistic, literary, historical and doctrinal arguments, Ephesians must be regarded as the last of Paul's epistles (if genuine). As C. H. Dodd has observed: "Its thought is the crown of Paulinism."²

(4) The Argument of J. Knox

The most recent impact on the older chronological schemes for the order of the epistles of Paul is that made by John Knox in his Chapters in a Life of Paul (1954). He previously stated many of the arguments which are repeated in his book in two articles in The Journal of Religion

¹ For a full discussion of this question see C. L. Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, London: The Epworth Press, 1955, p. 33, 46, 61-74. Also P. N. Harrison, Paulines and Pastorals, London: Villiers Publications Ltd., pp. 31-64 who also accepted Goodspeed's theory.

² Dodd, Abingdon Commentary, p. 1224f.

and the Journal of Biblical Literature.¹ The most significant contribution of Knox's scheme "is that Galatians should have been written after the conference and therefore not earlier than, say A.D. 51".² On the basis of their internal evidence Knox places in order I and II Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, and Romans. He rejects Ephesians and the Pastorals as being unPauline. I and II Thessalonians he believes were composed not long after A.D. 40. I and II Corinthians, on the basis of their reference to the offering which was then in progress, he dates from A.D. 51-53 (I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 8-9). Romans he assigns to A.D. 53-54.

As to the place of writing these epistles, Knox thinks that I Corinthians was probably written from Ephesus (I Cor. 16:19), II Corinthians, at least chapters 1 to 9 from Macedonia--probably Philippi (II Cor. 2:12-14). Romans he assigns to Corinth on the grounds "that Paul is on his way there to receive the Church's offering, and Rom. 15:25-33 tells us that he has just received it".³ I Thessalonians he believes was written from Athens on the evidence of I Thess. 3:1-6. He notes that most scholars assign it to Corinth on the strength of Acts 18:5.

Knox thinks that several fairly plausible hypotheses are possible for the "Imprisonment epistles". Thus, since Colossians, Philippians and Philemon reflect Paul's activities in Asia, and since the offering is not mentioned in them, he assigns them to the time of Paul's residence in

¹ Knox, "'Fourteen Years Later': A Note on the Pauline Chronology", Journal of Religion, xvi, (1936), pp. 341-349; "The Pauline Chronology", Journal of Biblical Literature, lviii, (1939), pp. 15-29.

² Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 85.

³ Knox, Ibid., p. 86.

Ephesus, around A.D. 47-53 following Deissmann and Duncan. He prefers the early part of this period, though he finds no objection to placing them during Paul's imprisonment at Rome provided the justification for this late date is not based on the evidence of Acts. It will be seen from the above analysis that Knox's "principle of criticism" (see Part I) and his practice of interpreting Paul's movements in the light of the references to the "offering" govern his scheme for the chronological order of Paul's letters.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EVALUATION OF RECENT THEORIES

Synopsis

- Two clues: (1) The collection for the saints.
(2) The references to imprisonment.
- (1) The collection for the saints.
The theories of Minear, Knox and Riddle.
Result: Corroborates chronology of J. Knox.
- (2) The references to imprisonment.
Dodd's evaluation of Duncan's theory.
- (i) Was Paul imprisoned at Ephesus?
 - (ii) Were the captivity epistles written from Rome?
 - (a) Colossians and Philemon.
 - (b) Philippians.
 - (iii) Were the captivity epistles written from Ephesus?
 - (a) Colossians and Philemon.
 - (b) Philippians.
 - (iv) Do the captivity epistles refer to imprisonment at Ephesus?
 - (v) Arguments from thought and language.
 - (vi) Evidence of development in the epistles.
- Summary. Table 14. Chronological order of Epistles according to some modern scholars.
- Table 15. Proposed Reconstruction for Chronological Order of the Epistles.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EVALUATION OF RECENT THEORIES

Two Clues

We turn our attention now to recent theories and their bearing on the chronological order of the Epistles. The internal evidence of Paul's letters reveals two clues which were generally overlooked in former attempts at determining the chronological order. For our investigation we shall consider the order of the epistles in the light of these two themes, namely:

- (1) The collection for the saints.
- (2) The reference to imprisonment.

Those letters which fall outside the boundaries of these two groups will be considered separately.

- (1) The Collection for the Saints. The Theories of Minear, Knox and Riddle.

P. S. Minear in his noteworthy article on "The Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology"¹ finds the clue for the reconstruction of the order of the epistles in the references to the "collection for the saints". It may be stated here that his investigation tends to corroborate the

¹ P. S. Minear, "The Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology", Anglican Theological Review, xxv, (1943), pp. 389-396. It must be noted that J. Jeremias had previously suggested that there was a correspondence between the occurrence of the Sabbath Years and the Famine Relief Fund. "Sabbathjahr und neutestamentliche chronologie", Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXVII, (1928), pp. 98-103.

chronologies proposed by Knox and Riddle. He notes that "the strategic value of the references to the relief fund in dating Paul's letters is frequently overlooked".¹ Two reasons are given by him for this neglect: (i) The general impression created by Acts in which the "collection" is only alluded to twice (Acts 11:27-30; 24:17) and (ii) the attitude of modern Christians who take benevolent giving for granted and fail to realise that among the Gentile churches of Paul's day it was a striking innovation. Prior to the investigation by American scholars, G. S. Duncan had drawn attention to the importance of "the collection for the saints" in Pauline chronology when he wrote: "Here we have a clue which from its very concreteness and from the variety of references to it in the Epistles may well serve as a means of testing the general truth of our proposed reconstruction."²

But where Knox, Riddle, Minear and other American scholars break new ground is in their emphasis on the fact that this is a unique undertaking. If the collection was simply the continuation of a long established practice "to continue to remember the poor" (Galatians 2:10) then it is difficult to understand why it was included in the agenda of the Jerusalem Council. Once the uniqueness of the "collection" is realised then a clue is provided for determining Paul's itinerary. It also helps to explain some of the vicious personal attacks made against Paul in the Corinthian

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 390. For a reason why there is so little reference to the "collection" in Acts, see also E. B. Allo, "La Portée de la Collecte pour Jérusalem dans les Plans de Saint Paul", *Revue Biblique*, XLV, (1936), pp. 529-537.

² G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1939, p. 229.

church. But most important for our present investigation is the value which these references provide for the dating of the epistles since "we know the events which initiated and terminated the campaign".¹

The collection is explicitly mentioned in: Romans 15:25-32; I Corinthians 16:1-4; II Corinthians 8 and 9; Galatians 2:10. Of these letters Romans may confidently be placed last because Paul's farewell states that he is now ready to go up to Jerusalem with the collection (Romans 15:25) and complete the project which was so dear to his heart. The reference in I Corinthians 16:1-4 may with almost equal confidence be placed first. "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let everyone of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." From this evidence Minear concludes that Paul had passed through Galatia on his return from Jerusalem. He is now explaining to the Corinthians for the first time² the method of raising the money. Paul is careful to avoid any criticism from his opponents that he is intending to line his own pockets by suggesting that they have the money ready when he comes. He further asks them to appoint someone to carry it up to Jerusalem. From this evidence it seems probable to Minear that

¹ P. S. Minear, op. cit., p. 392.

² G. S. Duncan thinks that the reference to "the saints" is "a clear indication that this is not the first intimation they have received of the scheme" otherwise Paul would have been more specific. St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, p. 229.

(i) this is the first mention of the collection to the Corinthians, and
 (ii) "it follows that the Jerusalem concordat had been made after Paul had founded this church. Otherwise he would have made these arrangements in person during his first visit".¹

Consequently Minear places Galatians in chronological order following I Corinthians as the references in I Cor. 16:1 and Gal. 2:10 support this order. Paul had already given instructions concerning the collection to the Galatians and presumably the fund-raising campaign was already under way. We disagree with Minear's conclusion which seems to us to be no more than a possibility.

Minear seems to think that Riddle's claim that II Corinthians 10-13 and Galatians were composed at the same time and in the same place can be supported on the grounds that (i) both give identical references to the conversion experience fourteen years earlier and (ii) both reflect the same crisis, i.e. the revolt of the Judaizers. We do not think that the first argument can be maintained for the following reasons: (1) In this passage (II Cor. 12:2f.) Paul refers to himself as ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ, which implies that he is referring to some experience which took place after he had become a Christian, and (2) the description in II Cor. 12:2f. does not agree with the other references to his conversion. The experience took place near Damascus in broad daylight and some of the phenomena attending it were experienced by Paul's travelling companions. This evidence is incompatible with the vision referred to by Paul in the passage referred to above, where "he was caught up into paradise, and

¹ Minear, op. cit., p. 393.

heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter". It is noteworthy that Knox in his two articles which appeared in the Journal of Religion (1936) and the Journal of Biblical Literature (1939) gave the same interpretation as Minear. But in his more recent book, Chapters in a Life of Paul (1954), he abandons this claim because objections from many critics shook his conviction.¹ He now regards the two references to intervals of "fourteen years" to be a mere coincidence. If Paul wrote these words of II Cor. 12:1-6 from Ephesus around A.D. 54-55 according to our chronological scheme then "fourteen years" previously (πρὸ ἑτῶν δεκάτεσσάρων) would bring us right in the middle of the "silent years" (c. A.D. 40) which is much too late for his conversion in A.D. 34.

The background of the situation which had developed before the writing of II Corinthians 10-13 is contained in the previous chapters of II Corinthians. Paul had sent Titus to organise the collection at Corinth because he had been with Paul at Jerusalem and already had some experience in raising money in Macedonia. His efforts in Corinth were misinterpreted and he was accused of fraud. In the light of this evidence it follows that II Corinthians 1-9 must have been written after II Corinthians 10-13.

In II Corinthians 1-9 we have Paul looking back at the hostile situation which attended the raising of the collection in Corinth. "The leader of the gossip-mongers has been chastised (2:6-12) and the charge that Paul is a 'peddler of God's message', selling religion for profit, has been refuted (4:2-5)."² The collection which Titus has begun a year

¹ Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 78, n. 3; p. 113, n. 1. See also M. S. Enslin, "Paul--What manner of Jew?", In Time of Harvest, New York: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1963, pp. 159-160.

² Minear, op. cit., p. 394.

earlier (II Cor. 8:10, 9:2) had been interrupted. The trouble is now over and Titus returns to Corinth to complete his task (II Cor. 8:6, 11). The Macedonian churches have already demonstrated their liberality amid difficult circumstances (II Cor. 8:2). The success of the collection is now almost assured and Paul makes preparations for its delivery at Jerusalem (II Cor. 8:20).

This investigation results in the following chronological arrangement of the five letters: I Corinthians, Galatians, II Corinthians 10-13, II Corinthians 1-9, and Romans.

Minear now proceeds to answer the question: Where are the letters, which bear no references to the collection, to be placed? He admits the dangers inherent in an argument from silence but refers to the value in chronological reconstructions of references to the conflict with the Judaizers. Arguing on the grounds that the novelty as well as the hazardous nature of the collection should be reflected in these epistles, he proceeds to examine them.

He places I and II Thessalonians before the financial drive since no mention is made in this correspondence of the Jerusalem Conference, the collection or the Judaizing conflict. This agrees with the view taken by most scholars.

The real problem, Minear is well aware, concerns the imprisonment epistles which like Thessalonians are silent regarding the collection. He takes Philippians as an example. In this epistle Paul gives thanks for the liberality of the Philippian church to him personally (Philippians 4:16) but makes no mention of the collection for the saints at Jerusalem. We know that the result of Paul's going up to Jerusalem with the fund was

his imprisonment. But he makes no mention of this. Paul is in prison "because he has been 'declaring God's message' and 'defending the right to preach the good news'. This hardly fits the Roman bondage."¹ He mentions Epaphroditus as the one who delivered their gift (Phil. 4:18) but there is no reference to their delegate who accompanied him with the collection to Jerusalem. Minear admits that this evidence is not conclusive but thinks it is worth consideration. He concludes that Philippians ought to be dated before the Jerusalem Council and before I Corinthians.²

Minear believes that the same considerations apply to Colossians, though with less force. He places this letter in Paul's first Ephesian imprisonment.

Result

The result of this investigation corroborates the chronology proposed by John Knox at several important points and underlines the importance of the collection as a guide for the chronological order of the epistles.

(2) The References to Imprisonment. Dodd's Evaluation of Duncan's Theory.

G. S. Duncan is the scholar to whom we are most indebted for a

¹ Minear, Ibid., p. 395.

² It is noteworthy that this is the order assigned to Philippians by Duncan in his chronological table, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, p. 298, though he does not place it before the Jerusalem Council. The theory that Philippians was written during Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts 24:27) has less to commend it than the Ephesian hypothesis, since Caesarea is farther away from Philippi than Rome. This theory was proposed by E. Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper, (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928, p. 1ff.

chronological order of the epistles on the evidence of "imprisonment". His thesis that the "Imprisonment Epistles" should be dated from imprisonment at Ephesus has not gained universal approval but it stimulated the investigation along this line.¹ Duncan stated his Ephesian hypothesis in his book to which we have already alluded, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry. Since its publication in 1929 scholars have been engaged in evaluating its merits. Chief among these is C. H. Dodd, who, while rejecting Duncan's theory, presents the arguments for and against in the clearest fashion. We propose now to examine Dodd's reply to Duncan's theory since this method should prove to show the value of the references to the imprisonment in a reconstruction of Pauline chronology. The analysis which follows is a restatement of Dodd's argument.

Dodd's articles "The Mind of Paul: I and II" first appeared in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library in 1933 and 1934. They have since been republished in his book New Testament Studies (1953) on pp. 67-128. Dodd states at the outset that he is concerned with the chronological order of Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon. He assumes on the basis of their internal evidence that they were written from prison. But from which prison? Were they written from Rome during the imprisonment recorded there in Acts, according to the view which prevailed from the fourth century? Or were they written from Caesarea during the two years Paul spent there awaiting trial? Or were these four letters written during some unrecorded imprisonment at Ephesus as Duncan suggested?

¹ The theory that Philippians was written from Ephesus but that Paul was not in prison at the time was proposed by T. W. Manson, "The Date of the Epistle to the Philippians", Studies in the Gospels and the Epistles, (ed. M. Black), Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 149-167.

These are the questions which Dodd sets out to answer. The significance of Duncan's theory is that it confines these epistles (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon) to within three or four years instead of the usual fourteen. This leaves little room for arranging the order on the grounds of development in Paul's thought and language. Thus Romans, I and II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon and probably Galatians, would all fall within this period. According to Duncan's hypothesis, Paul underwent three imprisonments during the period covered by Acts 19:1 to 20:1; two at Ephesus and one somewhere else, probably at Laodicea (see p. 272 of this thesis).

1. Dodd begins his investigation of Duncan's theory by seeking to answer the question: Was Paul Imprisoned at Ephesus? Duncan supported his argument by the statement found in the Apocryphal Acts of Paul and the Marcionite Prologue to Colossians: "apostulus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso".¹ Dodd notes that this evidence is weakened by the fact that the Marcionite prologues ascribe Philemon, as well as "Laodiceans" (Ephesians) to Rome.² He finds no certainty in Duncan's evidence for an imprisonment at Ephesus. The only certain things are (i) that Colossians and Philemon were written at the same place and at about the same time, and (ii) that Paul suffered more imprisonments than Acts records, and (iii) that Paul's ministry at Ephesus was beset by many more difficulties than Acts leads us to believe. The possibility for an Ephesian imprisonment

¹ G. S. Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, p. 70.

² Dodd, New Testament Studies, p. 90. Though Dodd does not mention it in this context it should be noted that the Marcionite prologue to Philippians ascribes the origin of that epistle to Paul from prison at Rome.

exists but it is only a possibility. The true test must come from an examination of the imprisonment epistles themselves and it is to this question that Dodd now turns.

2. The second question to which Dodd seeks an answer is: Were the Captivity Epistles written from Rome? Dodd begins with an investigation of Duncan's argument against the Roman hypothesis.

Colossians and Philemon

(i) Aristarchus (Col. 4:10) and Epaphras (Philem. 23) are both mentioned as fellow-prisoners (συνκιχμάλωτοι) of Paul. But there is no evidence that either of them was ever a prisoner at Rome. Acts, however, informs us that Aristarchus was imprisoned during the riot at Ephesus (Acts 19:29-30). No mention is made of Paul being imprisoned. Can we assume, as Duncan does,¹ that he was apprehended at the same time? Because we have no direct evidence and because of the silence of Acts, Dodd thinks not. Furthermore, Acts informs us that Aristarchus set sail with Paul on the voyage to Rome (Acts 27:2). Duncan, who accepts the suggestion of Lightfoot, thinks that Aristarchus did not go all the way with Paul but left him at Myra, and went on to his native city of Thessalonica.² But again it is only a conjecture and there is no direct evidence. Dodd summarises his argument as follows: "We have therefore constructive evidence that Aristarchus was with Paul when he was imprisoned at Rome, and direct evidence that he was a prisoner at Ephesus but not a fellow-prisoner with Paul. For Epaphras there is no evidence one way or the

¹ Duncan, op. cit., p. 89.

² Ibid., p. 90.

other."¹

(ii) Dodd now proceeds to examine Duncan's argument that the companions mentioned as being with Paul favour the Ephesian theory. Ten persons are mentioned as having been with Paul when he wrote these letters. We have certain evidence that Aristarchus (Acts 19:29-30) and Timothy (Acts 19:22; I Cor. 4:17; 16:10) were with Paul at Ephesus, probable evidence that Luke was with Paul at Rome (Acts 28:16) and probable evidence that Aristarchus (Acts 27-28) and Mark (I Peter 5:13) were at Rome. For the remaining six, Epaphras of Colossae, Onesimus of Colossae, Tychicus of Asia, Jesus Justus, Demas and Epaphroditus of Philippi, there is no evidence one way or the other.

Philippians

(i) Duncan assumes that the fierce Jewish hostility against Paul at Ephesus, as over against the cautious Jewish neutrality with which he was met at Rome, supports the Ephesian theory. Dodd, on the evidence that we have of Jewish hostility elsewhere, feels that it is an improbable assumption to think that after Paul's arrival in Rome the Jews refrained from open hostility.

(ii) The argument that opposition from fellow-Christians (Phil. 1:15-18, 3:18-19?) is evidence against the Roman hypothesis is countered, Dodd thinks, by the fact that the subsequent history of the Roman church shows little Pauline influence.

3. Dodd's third question is: Were the Captivity Epistles written from Ephesus? In this section he seeks to evaluate the positive arguments

¹ Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

Duncan has used in support of his theory.

Colossians and Philemon

(i) Duncan thinks it likely that Onesimus fled to Ephesus rather than to Rome. In reply to Duncan's argument, Dodd thinks that it is just as likely that a runaway slave with stolen money in his pocket would make for a distant city as far away as possible. Furthermore, we have no means of knowing whether Onesimus was taken to Rome or whether he went there of his own choice. In face of this enigma Dodd concludes that we have no secure basis for an argument.

(ii) Duncan argues that Paul's request to Philemon that he reserve a lodging for him (Philem. 22) and his intention to go on from Rome to Spain, favour an Ephesian imprisonment. Dodd admits the strength of this argument but thinks that Paul must be given the liberty to change his plans. This, he thinks, is especially true if the Colossian heresy arose while Paul was at Rome. This might well have made him decide to visit Asia first.

(iii) Dodd fails to see anything in Duncan's argument that the Colossian heresy was of recent origin. In the epistle there is nothing he thinks "to suggest that it was two years rather than twelve years old."¹

(iv) Duncan argues that when Paul wrote Colossians and Philemon, Timothy was with him and we have no evidence for Timothy being in Rome. Dodd replies that it is "probable that Paul's chief lieutenant visited Rome some time or other while Paul was there".²

¹ Dodd, Ibid., p. 95.

² Ibid., p. 96.

Philippians

(i) Timothy was with Paul (See (iv) above).

(ii) Paul plans a visit to Philippi (Phil. 2:24). Dodd thinks that the argument is slightly stronger in favour of Philippians than for Colossians or Philemon since Paul did contemplate a visit to Macedonia while he was at Ephesus (I Cor. 16:5-9), and we know that from Rome he planned to visit Spain. But once again Dodd argues that Paul may have changed his mind. This he feels is likely since Paul depended on Roman support for his mission to Spain and "Philippians shows that a large section of the Roman church was opposed to him".¹ On the other hand, if he was at Rome and if he was released from captivity, he might have felt it desirable to postpone the visit to Spain and visit Macedonia instead, particularly in view of the Jewish opposition at Philippi.

(iii) According to Duncan, the number of journeys implied between Philippi and Paul's place of imprisonment is strongly in favour of Ephesus. He believes this is true in view of the distance and time involved in a journey to Rome. Dodd argues that since the Ephesian imprisonment lasted for only a few weeks and the one in Rome for at least two years, it is difficult to see how all the journeys can be fitted into the short period suggested by Duncan.

(iv) Duncan thinks that the gift from the Philippian Church to Paul (Phil. 4:10) supports the Ephesian theory because if Paul was at Rome then it was twelve years or more since he had received anything from them (Phil. 4:16 and possibly II Cor. 11:8). The cogency of this argument

¹ Ibid., p. 96.

is heightened by Paul's remark that they lacked opportunity to send him a gift before. Would Paul be likely to indulge in such sarcasm if he had visited them twice in the meantime? Duncan thinks not. On the Ephesian thesis no more than three or four years is involved and during that time they did not have an opportunity to send him a gift because he was travelling.

Dodd rejects this argument on the grounds that it was during the Ephesian ministry that Paul was involved in raising the relief fund. At this very time he was appealing to the Corinthians and his opponents accused him of lining his own pockets (II Cor. 12:14-19). "How damaging it would have been if at this very moment he was known to be accepting gifts of money for himself from the Philippians in the neighbouring province, without saying anything to them about the relief fund."¹ Dodd feels that this is the most unlikely time in which Paul could have received a gift of money from the Philippians.

(v) Finally, Duncan argues that the words in Phil. 1:30 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄγωνα ἔχοντες οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί—"you have the same conflict as you saw me having and now hear of me having" can be more naturally explained if the conflict which they saw at Philippi was near to the one he is now undergoing at Ephesus (rather than Rome). Dodd fails to see any force in this argument.

Dodd concludes that the net result of this investigation rests in favour of the Ephesian hypothesis provided we can assume that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus. But he is not convinced that such a hypothesis

¹ Dodd, Ibid., p. 98.

can be maintained. If it cannot, then the advantage lies with the Roman hypothesis since we do know that Paul was imprisoned there.

4. The fourth question which Dodd asks is: Do the Captivity Epistles refer to Imprisonment at Ephesus?

By comparing Acts and the Corinthian epistles Duncan found evidence for three acute crises during Paul's Ephesian ministry. He then correlated the data in the captivity epistles with those of Acts and I and II Corinthians, assuming, of course, that the captivity epistles are connected with Ephesus. The result of this correlation is shown in Table 13 on p. 272 of this thesis.

(i) Dodd examines Duncan's argument for an imprisonment at Ephesus during which time Duncan thinks Paul wrote Philippians.¹ He does not believe that there is sufficient evidence to support this hypothesis. Acts makes no mention of an imprisonment, only a riot. The crux of the argument as Duncan himself points out rests upon the interpretation of Paul's question in I Cor. 15:32: ἐγὼ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος; Duncan thinks this passage must be taken literally. However, he does not think that Paul actually fought with beasts in the arena. The meaning of the passage is to be understood as "if I had fought with beasts (which in fact I did not)". Paul apparently narrowly escaped this ordeal. Dodd admits that this is an acute and ingenious theory but there are difficulties. At the time, before Christianity

¹ T. W. Manson has attempted to demonstrate that Philippians was written from Ephesus but that Paul was not in prison at the time. See "The Date of the Epistle to the Philippians", Studies in the Gospels and the Epistles, (ed. by M. Black), Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 149-167.

was outlawed, it is doubtful whether a Roman citizen would have been condemned to the beasts. Furthermore, there is the difficulty presented by the silence of Acts. Duncan finds evidence that the proconsul before whom Paul was tried and acquitted was M. Junius Silanus.¹ This man was later poisoned on the orders of Agrippina because she feared he was a pretender to Nero's throne. This deed took place in A.D. 54. Luke's practice is to make a good show of Roman officials. How then can we account for his silence concerning this proconsul of Asia? Duncan believes it can be explained on the grounds that Luke wrote Acts to provide Paul with a defence before Caesar. It follows that if Silanus was Caesar's enemy then it would not have helped Paul's case to show that Silanus was his friend. Dodd rejects this suggestion because he accepts Harnack's date for Acts, viz., A.D. 78-93.

(ii) Duncan places the second crisis at the time of the riot raised by Demetrius. He assumes that Paul was placed in protective custody during which he wrote Colossians and Philemon (with Ephesians). But there is no evidence for an imprisonment. Following the riot "Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia". (Acts 20:1). Dodd summarises his conclusions in the words: "The case, therefore, for an Ephesian origin of Colossians and Philemon (with Ephesians) does not so much break down as go by default. There is no case to send to the jury."²

5. Arguments from Thought and Language

¹ Tacitus, Annals, xiii, lff., Dio Cassius, lxi. 6. 4. 5.

² Dodd, op. cit., p. 104f.

Duncan says: "Arguments based on alleged affinities of vocabulary or of doctrine may, if used unwarily, lead to very misleading results. In a problem that is primarily historical such evidence ought never to be used to provide in itself a sure basis for exact conclusions."¹ In reply to this argument Dodd points out that Duncan's Ephesian hypothesis brings about eighty per cent of Paul's literary output within a five year period. Therefore, Duncan may very well abandon arguments from Thought and Language since they could not support his argument. Dodd thinks that: "No one can deny that the style, vocabulary and ideas of Colossians and Ephesians, and to a less degree, Philippians, show remarkable differences from those of I and II Corinthians and Romans."² He turns now to a study of Paul's thought to see how far it developed in certain directions.

6. Evidence of Development in the Epistles

Dodd takes as his point of reference the spiritual experience which is reflected in II Corinthians 10-13.³ He regards this as comparable to a second conversion. Paul has now become reconciled to experience. Dodd traces a development in the epistles dating from this spiritual experience under two departments of religious thought, viz., (i) eschatology and the valuation of the natural order, and (ii) universalism and the idea of reconciliation. He concludes that the changes all have one common characteristic: "they all involve the transcending of a certain harsh dualism--the dualism of 'things of the Lord' and 'things of the world',

¹ Duncan, op. cit., p. 12f.

² Dodd, op. cit., p. 106.

³ Ibid., pp. 80-82, 84, 108.

of 'this age' and 'the age to come', of the 'elect' and the rest of humanity, of redeemed humanity and the whole living universe. This dualism is very deeply rooted in the apocalyptic eschatology which moulded the Weltanschauung with which Paul began; but he outgrew it."¹

Here is a short summary of our examination and criticism of these recent theories. Two themes emerge, viz., the collection for the saints and the references to imprisonment. We shall deal with the former first. Minear's chronological arrangement of the Epistles which refer to the "collection" seems over-confident. He places I Corinthians before Galatians on the ground that Paul had previously given them instructions regarding the collection and they had already begun the task. We feel that Minear's conclusion is far too confident and at the best is no more than a possibility. We prefer to place Galatians first among Paul's epistles for the reasons which we have given in Chapter XX. We agree with Minear that Romans should be placed last in the list of the "collection" epistles.

The chronological arrangement of the imprisonment epistles, which make no mention of the collection, is even more difficult. Minear places Philipians before the Jerusalem Council and before I Corinthians. We agree with Minear that the reason which Paul gives for his imprisonment hardly fits the Roman bondage but the greetings from "Caesar's household" (Phil. 4:22) and the whole tone of the letter leads us to believe that it was written at the end, rather than the beginning of Paul's ministry. Paul's reference to "bishops and deacons" (ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις , Phil. 1:1) further confirms our belief that this epistle must be placed at

¹ Ibid., p. 127.

the end of Paul's correspondence.¹ Minear places Colossians in Paul's first Ephesian imprisonment, c. A.D. 56, but there is no evidence that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus. Furthermore, Philippians and Colossians can hardly be separated in time by nearly a decade as Minear would have us believe.

The second part of this chapter is an evaluation of G. S. Duncan's Ephesian theory by C. H. Dodd. We feel that Dodd has the better of the argument. Duncan's theory is ingenious but cannot be proved since there is no evidence, other than that of the Apocryphal Acts of Paul and the Marcionite Prologue to Colossians, that Paul was ever imprisoned at Ephesus.² Duncan's whole theory rests on this assumption and since it cannot be proved, and the New Testament makes no mention of it, we must favour the conclusion that the imprisonment epistles were written from Rome.

¹ J. Line, The Doctrine of the Christian Ministry, London: Lutterworth Press, 1959.

² See my article "Paul and the Wild Beasts," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXV, (1966), pp. 225-230.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCETABLE 14

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPISTLES ACCORDING TO SOME MODERN SCHOLARS

ORDER OF EPISTLES IN THE A.V.	LIGHTFOOT	TURNER	KNOX	MINEAR	DODD	DUNCAN
ROMANS	58	56	54	55	59	
CORINTHIANS	57	55	51-53	51-54	57	55-56
GALATIANS	58	55	52-55	52	58	
EPHESIANS	62	59			62	55
PHILIPPIANS	62	59	47	47	60	54
COLOSSIANS	62	60	48	56	61	55
THESSALONIANS	52-53	50	41-42	41-42	50-51	
TIMOTHY	67-68	67				
TITUS	67	67				57
PHILEMON	63	62	49		62	55

This table shows that the chronology proposed by Knox and Minear largely coincides and is determined by the references to the "collection for the saints". That of Dodd and Lightfoot is very similar. The only real difference is the dating of the Pastorals, which Dodd largely rejects. Duncan crowds the Imprisonment Epistles into three years on the assumption that these letters were written from Ephesus.

On the basis of the evidence considered and the conclusion reached above, we propose the following reconstruction for the chronological order of the Epistles.

TABLE 15

PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION FOR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EPISTLES

EPISTLE	PLACE OF WRITING	DATE
GALATIANS	Antioch	Prior to Jerusalem Council A.D. 49
I THESSALONIANS	Corinth	At close of A.D. 50
II THESSALONIANS	Corinth	A.D. 51
II CORINTHIANS 6:14-7:1	Ephesus	A.D. 52-54
I CORINTHIANS	Ephesus	A.D. 55
II CORINTHIANS 10-13	Ephesus	A.D. 55
II CORINTHIANS 1-9	Philippi	A.D. 57
ROMANS	Corinth or Cenchreae (Acts 20:3)	A.D. 55-56
PHILIPPIANS) PHILEMON) COLOSSIANS)	Rome (Acts 28:30)	A.D. 60-62
EPHESIANS (if Pauline)	Rome	A.D. 62-63

PART SEVEN

THE CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL'S JOURNEYS

CHAPTERS XXIII - XXVI

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Synopsis

Map - Paul's Ministry - Acts 13:3-14:26
(A.D. 47, Spring - A.D. 48, Spring)

Acts 13:3-14:26

Date of Departure - Spring of 47

Return to Antioch in the Spring of 48

Interval Between First and Second Missionary Journey

The chronological notice in Acts 14:28

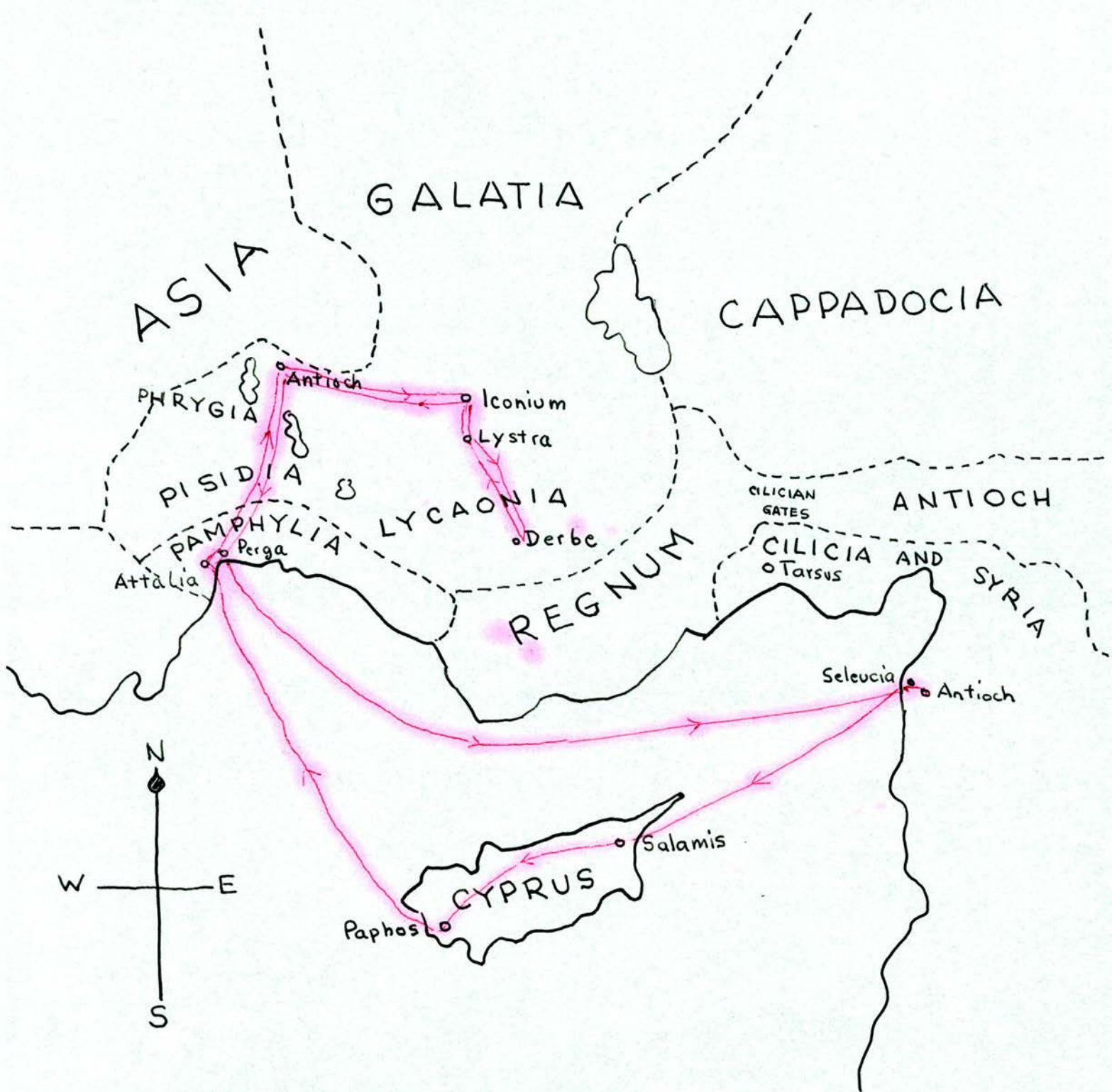
What length of time is to be reckoned between the return of
the Apostles to Antioch and beginning of second journey?

(A) W. L. Knox - 2 or 3 months

(B) D. Plooij - 6 months

(C) C. H. Turner - 3 months

Conclusion: The Second Missionary Journey began in late
summer of 49.



PAUL'S MINISTRY

ACTS 13:3-14:26

A.D. 47 (Spring) - A.D. 48 (Spring)

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(ACTS 13:3 to 14:26)

Date of Departure--Spring of 47

The event which enables us to date the departure of Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey is the famine relief visit recorded in Acts 11:20-30, 12:25. As we have concluded in Part IV, the famine took place in the interval 46-48, and the relief visit must have occurred in the early spring of 47. It was after their return from delivering the fund that Paul and Barnabas set out on the first missionary tour.¹ We conclude that they began the journey in the spring of 47 after the feast of the Passover ("while they were keeping a fast and offering worship to the Lord" (NEB) Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων - Acts 13:2). According to Parker and Dubberstein Passover fell on April 29 in A.D. 47. They began their journey therefore sometime around the 1st of May.

Paul and Barnabas embarked at Seleucia and sailed to Cyprus (Acts 13:4) which was the homeland of Barnabas (Acts 4:36). After

¹ D. Plooij dates the return from the "collection-journey" to Antioch in the winter of 45-46. And the beginning of the first missionary journey he places in the spring of 46. We must reject these dates since they disagree with the dates at which we have arrived for the famine and the second visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1).

disembarking at Salamis they preached in the synagogues.¹ There is no chronological notice of how long they remained here but at least two or three weeks are implied in the references to preaching in the synagogues. After their departure from Salamis they went through (διελθόντες)² the whole island and came to Paphos (Acts 13:6). Plooiij³ allows some two months from the beginning of the journey to the arrival at Paphos. It was in this city that they met the proconsul Sergius Paulus. This reference, as we have previously noted, is of doubtful chronological value (see pp. 173 ff.). Again Luke makes no mention of the length of their stay in this city but it cannot have been more than a few days at the most. Plooiij thinks that the Sergius Paulus incident can hardly have detained them for more than a matter of days: "...niet meer dan een episode, die hen ternauwernood enkele dagen ophoudt".⁴ It was still early summer when they embarked from Paphos (Acts 13:13) and sailed to Perga on the coast of

¹ Acts 13:5. Cf. Acts 6:9, 9:20, where more than one synagogue is mentioned. Acts 17:1 and 18:4 speak of only one synagogue.

² W. L. Knox has noted that the meaning of the word in Acts does not necessarily connote missionary activity. Failure to recognise this has led to various errors in Pauline chronology since some scholars have understood the word to mean that time must be allowed for the establishing of churches and preaching activity. See W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 216ff.

³ D. Plooiij, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 142. The use of "een paar maanden"--some two months or a few months--is to be distinguished from "twee maanden"--two months.

⁴ Plooiij, Ibid., p. 142.

Asia Minor.¹

After their arrival in the highlands, the first city which the missionaries went to was Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14). Here they spent "two sabbaths" (Acts 13:14, 44) and time must also be allowed the "word of the Lord to be published throughout all the region" (Acts 13:49). Plooi suggests that the stay here could hardly have been less than two months.² Some time in the late summer, Paul and Barnabas arrived at Iconium (Acts 13:51) where they spent considerable time (ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον διέτριψαν - Acts 14:3). Ramsay³ was of the opinion that eight months were spent here on the grounds that "...the estimates of time given in the preceding sketch of the Apostle's journeys are the lowest possible in view of the effects produced. A certain amount of time is necessary in order that two unknown strangers should first gain a hearing, and then make many converts and establish a permanent congregation in a city, where the established religion was so opposite in character to that which they preached".⁴ Plooi, on the other hand, disagrees with Ramsay's argument and says that Paul and Barnabas were working in a field that was

¹ Ramsay has suggested that it was at this point that Paul contracted malarial fever and was forced to seek the cooler air of the highlands (Gal. 4:13). Paul had a chronic recurring illness of a distressing nature (Gal. 4:14-15, Gal. 6:11. The "large letters" are thought by some scholars to indicate poor vision--I Cor. 2:3, II Cor. 1:8; II Cor. 12:7-9). For a discussion of the nature of Paul's illness see L. Weatherhead, Psychology, Religion and Healing, p. 143ff. T. Y. Mullins, "Paul's Thorn in the Flesh", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVI, (1957), pp. 299-303.

² D. Plooi, op. cit., p. 143.

³ W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire, p. 67.

⁴ Ramsay, Ibid., p. 72.

ripe for harvest. The Jews in these cities formed a very important and influential section of the population. All evidence points to the fact that the pagans of Asia Minor were interested in the Jewish religion. Proof is found in the fact that women of high social standing were proselytes at Antioch, and in the same city almost the whole population gathered to hear the word of God (Acts 13:44).¹

The writer of Acts makes no mention of the length of time spent at Lystra² and Derbe³ (Acts 14:7). But enough time must be allowed for the missionaries to form a circle of disciples in both cities.

The return journey began in the autumn of A.D. 47. Lystra, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch were revisited (Acts 14:21), and enough time is spent in each city for strengthening the converts and ordaining elders in each church. This activity probably took the whole winter of A.D. 47-48. Plooi] thinks that no more than three months can be allowed for the missionaries' stay in each city on the outward journey and assuredly much less for the return.⁴ In the spring of A.D. 48 Paul and Barnabas arrived at Perga where they remained long enough to preach the gospel (Acts 14:25).

¹ D. Plooi], op. cit., p. 145. "Paulus en Barnabas bearbeidden daar veeleer een akker, waarvan de oogst rijp was: de Joden vormden een zeer belangrijk en invloedrijk deel van de bevolking.... Dat ook de heidensche bevolking van Klein-Azië belang stelde in den joodschen godsdienst, blijkt niet slechts uit het voorkomen van proselieten, zelfs onder de aanzienlijke vrouwen te Antiochië, maar in Hand. 13:44 wordt de synagoge "door bijkans de heele stad" bezocht."

² It was here that Paul was stoned and left for dead. This no doubt is the occasion to which he referred in II Cor. 11:25. Cf. II Tim. 3:11.

³ For the location of Derbe see G. Ogg, "Derbe", New Testament Studies, (1962-63), IX, pp. 367-70.

⁴ Plooi], op. cit., p. 145.

From here they went to Attalia and then they sailed to Antioch (Acts 14:25f.). This first missionary journey is unique because it does not contain a single "we-passage". R. Glover¹ has suggested that Luke got his information about this journey because he was a native of Antioch and was present when Paul and Barnabas returned and "gathered the church together and declared all that God had done with them" (Acts 14:27).

Since Luke's chronological notices are all given in such general terms, it is impossible to arrive at exact conclusions. Ramsay² thought that at least two years and four months should be allowed for the whole tour. On the other hand, Turner³ preferred a duration of one year and seven months. Renan suggested that four or five years were devoted to this first missionary journey. The shorter interval preferred by scholars such as Turner and Plooij fixes the date of the return in the autumn of A.D. 47. We conclude that the chronology outlined above satisfies all the conditions of the journey and is to be preferred. According to our reckoning the Apostles, therefore, probably arrived back in Antioch in the spring of 48.

Interval Between First and Second Missionary Journey

When Paul and Barnabas returned to Syrian Antioch "they spent a long time with the disciples" (διέτριβον δὲ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Acts 14:28). Along with this one needs also to consider

¹ R. Glover, "'Luke the Antiochene' and Acts", New Testament Studies, XI, (1964), p. 102.

² W. M. Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 65-73.

³ C. H. Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, (1903), p. 422.

the reference to their "staying on at Antioch" in Acts 15:35 (Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ). The question arises: Are these chronological notices to be reckoned from the time of their arrival until the time of the Jerusalem Council, or until the time of their departure on the Second Missionary Journey? A majority of authorities agree that the Council at Jerusalem took place in 49 (see Chronological Chart). The most opportune time for holding such a Council would be when the delegates were coming up to Jerusalem for one of the great feasts, i.e. Passover, Pentecost or Tabernacles. W. L. Knox thinks that the time spent by Paul and Barnabas in Antioch need only have been long enough for news of their return to filter through from Antioch to Jerusalem. He estimates two or three months.¹ D. Plooij allows six months for this stay at Antioch ("Wanneer wij voor het verblijf te Antiochië een half jaar rekenen.")²

We have no idea of how long the Council lasted or exactly when Paul and Barnabas returned to Syrian Antioch. Turner thinks that "they may easily have been back again in Antioch S. by the end of June...."³ If this assumption is true (we see no particular reason to challenge it) then it is reasonable to suppose that they began their second tour in the late summer or early autumn since their stay at Syrian Antioch amounted only to "certain days" (ἡμέρας τινάς , Acts 15:36). Paul was planning to revisit churches which had already been established, and

¹ W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 227, n. 1.

² D. Plooij, op. cit., p. 151.

³ C. H. Turner, op. cit., p. 422.

because Judaizers had disturbed these churches he was most anxious to visit them. We conclude then that Paul and Barnabas set out in the late summer of 49.¹ From the return to Antioch in the spring of A.D. 48 (p. 306) to late summer of 49 is a period of about one and a quarter years.

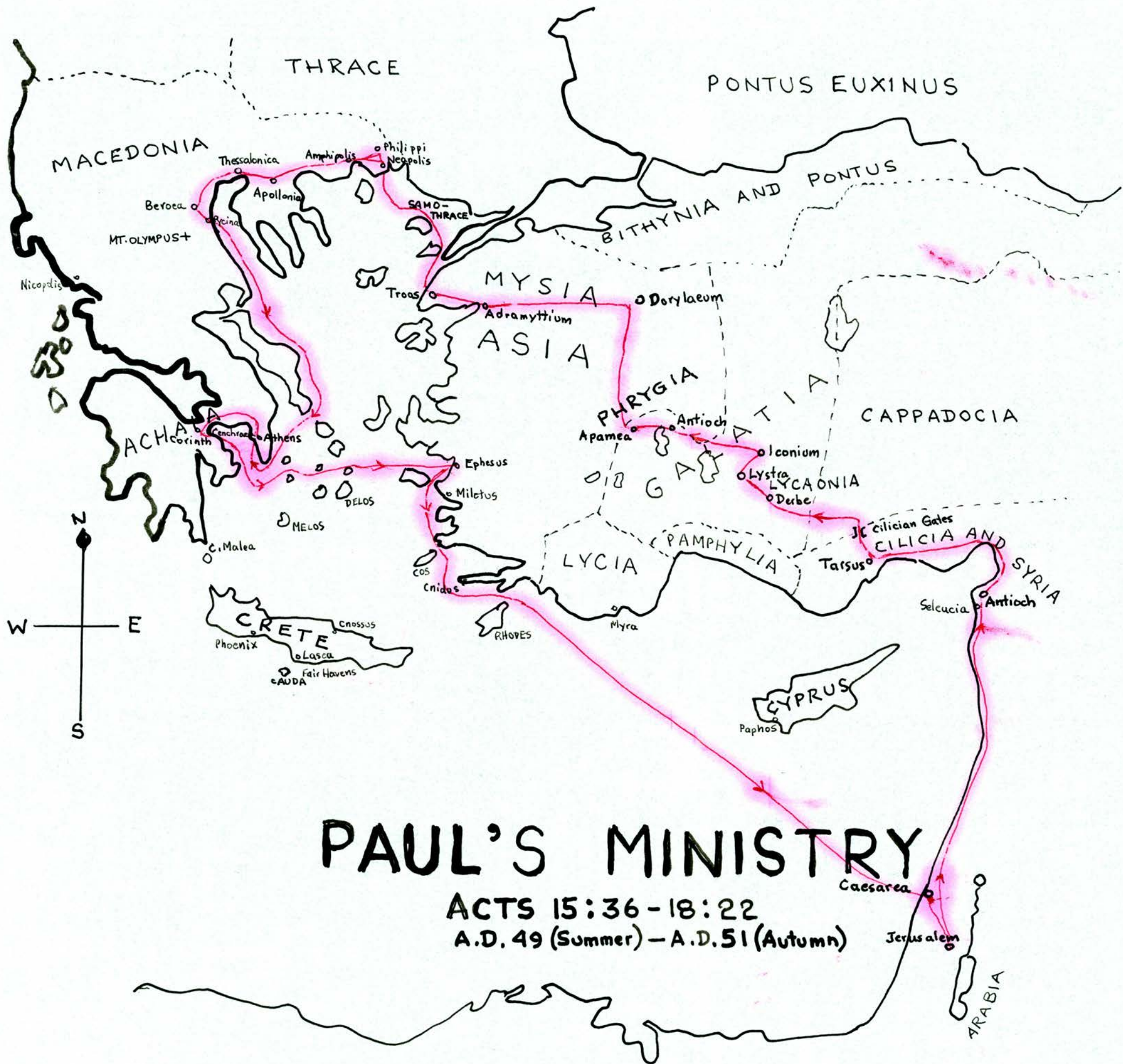
¹ D. Plooij is of the opinion that this second visit to South Galatia could not have been undertaken before the summer of 48: "... deze tweede reis van Paulus naar Zuid-Galatië niet aangevangen vóór den zomer van 48 p. Chr. n." op. cit., p. 151.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Synopsis

Map - Paul's Ministry - Acts 15:36-18:22
(A.D. 49, Summer - A.D. 51, Autumn)
Acts 15:36 to 18:22
Date of Departure - late summer of 49
Arrival at Corinth, beginning of 50
Date of Paul's appearance before Gallio - summer or autumn
51
Departure from Corinth - autumn 51
The chronological notice in Acts 18:21
To which feast is Paul referring?
Note: based on "Western" variant
(A) Ramsay's theory (Passover)
(B) Wieseler's theory (Pentecost)
(C) Turner's theory (Pentecost)
(D) Plooijs's theory (Tabernacles)
Conclusion: Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn of A.D. 51
(i.e. October 10th)



CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(ACTS 15:36 to 18:22)

Date of Departure--Autumn 49

Paul had quarrelled with Barnabas over John Mark (Acts 15:39-40). On this Second Journey Paul goes over familiar ground and has Silas as his travelling companion. The missionaries passed through Syria and Cilicia and "confirmed the churches" as they went (Acts 15:41). One of these churches would undoubtedly be the one at Tarsus. The impression which we receive from Luke's account is that they must have travelled somewhat leisurely. Their journey took them through the Cilician Gates and over the Taurus mountains. They must have made this journey before the end of November as the route would normally be impassable after that time of year.

Some time in November they arrived in Derbe and Lystra (Acts 16:1). It was here that Timothy was circumcised and joined Paul and Silas. The result of this visitation was that "the churches were strengthened in the faith and increased in number daily" (Acts 16:5). This activity probably lasted until the spring of 50. They then made their way through

Phrygia and Galatia (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν - Acts 16:6).¹

It is not possible to reach absolute conclusions concerning the Apostles' movements. Is Paul using the word "Galatia" in a geographical or political sense? Two theories are held in answer to this question, the "North" Galatian and the "South" Galatian theories. The older theory which was championed by Bishop Lightfoot in his commentary on Galatians argues that Paul is writing in a "geographical" sense. According to the North Galatianists Paul is writing to Christians in Pessinus and Ancyra in Northern Asia Minor, a country settled by Gauls, a Celtic race from which it gets its name (Γαλάται = Κέλται), in the third century, B.C. Paul visited this region on his second and third missionary journeys (Acts 16:6 and 18:23) according to the "North" Galatian theory. This is the view still held by many present-day continental scholars.² The "South" Galatian theory which is associated with Sir William Ramsay holds that Paul is writing of Galatia in the "political" sense.³ Accordingly, Galatia is the imperial Roman province formed in 25 B.C. In this political

¹ The reference in Acts 18:23 reverses the word order (τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν). This complicates the difficulty in understanding the phrase since a decision regarding the one does not necessarily apply to the other. Are "Galatia" and "Phrygia" being used as nouns in a "geographical sense" or are they employed as "adjectives" modifying χώραν? The phrase may be interpreted in two ways with the result that commentators give it a rendering which will square with either the North or South Galatian theory. See E. Burton, The Epistle to the Galatians, pp. xxi-liii; M. S. Enslin, Christian Beginnings, pp. 224-26; K. Lake, The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, pp. 254-55; D. J. Selby, Toward the Understanding of St. Paul, pp. 192-196; E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 423, f.n. 1 and 2.

² e.g. Oepke, Schlatter. For the arguments in favour of the North Galatian theory see Wikenhauser, op. cit., p. 374.

³ Ramsay's arguments are admittedly special pleading in favour of the "South" Galatian theory but the rendering of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν as the Phrygo-Galatic region, i.e. the district of Phrygia included in the political province of Galatia is the more natural. If Luke had not intended Φρυγίαν to be taken as an adjective surely he would have written either τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν or Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν (using Φρυγίαν as a noun). Paul was probably heading for Ephesus but was forbidden by the Spirit to preach in Asia. He turned north through Phrygia and was again thwarted at the Bithynian border where he turned westwards, and skirting Mysia reached the coast at Troas (see Map, p. 310).

division were to be found the cities of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe where churches were established on the First Missionary Journey. Three pieces of supporting evidence may be adduced in favour of the South Galatian theory. First, Paul's references to Barnabas in Gal. 2:9 and 2:13 imply that he was well known to the recipients of the letter. The only evidence we have of Barnabas accompanying Paul was on the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13:3-14:26) and on that occasion they visited Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe--all cities in southern Galatia. Second, Paul's reference to the "collection" for the saints in Jerusalem (I Cor. 16:1-4) mentions his directions to the congregations in Galatia concerning this matter. His plans are to have a delegation approved by these churches to carry the gift to Jerusalem (cf. II Cor. 8:16-24, 9:4). When Luke lists these delegates in Acts 20:4 he includes Gaius of Derbe¹ and Timothy of Lystra (Acts 16:1). Both these delegates come from South Galatia. There is no mention of any delegates from North Galatia. While this evidence is not conclusive the probabilities certainly favour the South Galatian hypothesis. Third, Ramsay quoted what he considered to be the "precise and explicit"² evidence of Astarius, bishop of Amaseia (c. A.D. 400) in favour of the South Galatian theory. Ramsay believed that "it would not be easy to find a better authority, for the geography of central Asia Minor must have been in a general way familiar to him; and when he interprets 'the Galatic Territory' in Acts 18:23 as Lycaonia,

¹ It should be noted that the Western text gives "Doberios" or "Douberios" and this may be the correct reading.

² W. M. Ramsay, "A Fixed Date in the Life of St. Paul", Expositor, 5th Ser. III, (1896), p. 342. Ramsay previously cited this evidence in the Expositor, (1895), p. 391.

it is difficult to see any other explanation except that he repeats the unbroken tradition, according to which Derbe and Lystra were two of the Pauline 'Churches of Galatia'."¹ This is the view which is favoured by most British and American scholars and the one adopted throughout this thesis.² As has already been pointed out these two theories have an important bearing on the dating of Galatians (see Chapter XX). This route probably took them through Antioch, Apamea and Dorylaeum (see Map). Entrance into the province of Asia was barred and the missionaries turned south only to be baffled once more by the Spirit. So they passed through Mysia and came to Troas. No mention is made of preaching or founding churches along the way. This fact in itself is a strong argument in favour of the South Galatian theory. If Paul had founded churches in North Galatia surely Luke would have mentioned them especially if they were significant enough to be the reason for the writing of the Epistle to the Galatians. Admittedly this is an argument e silentio but the argument of the "North Galatianists" that these were not mentioned in Luke's "sources" only pushes the difficulty further back. The journey through Phrygia and Galatia may have taken as long as two months.

The voyage across the Aegean from Troas via Samothrace to Neapolis (modern Kavalla) took two days as the wind was favourable (Acts 16:11). It was only eight miles from Neapolis to Philippi but it meant crossing the Pangaeum Mountain. They probably arrived in Philippi some time in the summer. Luke tells us that they remained here *ἡμέρας τινάς* . But

¹ Ibid., p. 342.

² For arguments against the South Galatian hypothesis see Lake, Wikenhauser and Haenchen. It is noteworthy that from the time of the Early Fathers until the middle of the 18th century the North Galatian theory held the field. It was Sir W. Ramsay who gave the impetus to the current vogue of the South Galatian hypothesis. There are signs at present that many scholars are dissatisfied with Ramsay's overstatement of his case with the result that there is a renewed interest in the arguments in favour of the Northern theory. A journey to North Galatia may have been made during Paul's "Silent Years".

this expression may only refer to the time spent in the city prior to the visit to the place of prayer near the riverside mentioned in v. 13. At Philippi Paul and Silas were beaten¹ and imprisoned. The next day they were released and journeyed on through Amphipolis (modern Ienikeni) and Apollonia (modern Pollina) and came to Thessalonica (modern Salonika). Through it passed the Via Egnatia which formed a cross-roads between East and West. Luke's chronological notice indicates that they remained here for "three sabbath days" (Acts 17:2). But Paul's reference in his first epistle to these people implies a longer period (I Thess. 1:1, 2, 6). Moreover the reference in Phil. 4:16 to the supplies which they sent him not once but twice over, has a bearing on the length of the mission. The time spent at Philippi² and Thessalonica must have been four or five months altogether³ and this would bring us by our reckoning to about November of A.D. 50.

The evangelistic mission at Thessalonica aroused the hostility of the Jews (I Thess. 2:14-16) and the brethren sent Paul and Silas by night to Beroea (Acts 17:10). In this city the Apostles were well received by the Jewish community and many men and women believed their message. However, when the hostile Jews at Thessalonica heard of this they came to

¹ This is one of the beatings with rods mentioned in II Cor. 11:25. For the archaeology of Philippi see P. E. Davies, "The Macedonian Scene of Paul's Journeys", The Biblical Archaeologist, XXVI, (1963), pp. 91-106. On the authenticity of Luke's account of Paul's Philippian imprisonment see E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 439ff.

² Plooij thinks that "several months" (ettelijke maanden) were spent here, op. cit., p. 155.

³ A. Wikenhauser thinks that two or three months are all that is required for Paul's activities in Thessalonica, New Testament Introduction, p. 363.

Beroea (modern Verroia) and stirred up trouble. Paul was forced to leave and fled to Athens (Acts 17:15). His voyage took him down the coast past Mount Olympus to Piraeus the harbour of Athens. Silas and Timothy were able to remain at Beroea. While Paul remained alone at Athens (I Thess. 3:1) waiting for Silas and Timothy to join him, he continued to preach daily in the synagogue and market place (Acts 17:17). On one memorable occasion he spoke to the Athenian philosophers at the Areopagus. The stay here may have lasted two months. Plooiij thinks it occupied from four to six weeks: "Er worden in Athene slechts heel weinige bekeerlingen gemeld, en langer dan een vier of zes weken zal Paulus' plotseling afgebroken verblijf te Athene (χωρισθεὶς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων) wel niet hebben geduurd."¹

Arrival at Corinth - Beginning of A.D. 50

We gather from I Thess. 3:1, 2 that Silas and Timothy met Paul at Athens and that Paul sent Timothy on to Thessalonica while Silas went somewhere else, possibly Philippi. In the meantime Paul went to Corinth where they both rejoined him (I Thess. 3:6; Acts 18:5). We have previously concluded that Paul arrived in Corinth about the end of the year A.D. 49 or the beginning of A.D. 50 (see p.171). The activities in Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea and Athens, therefore, covered the period from July of A.D. 49 to early in A.D. 50. Paul was assisted at Corinth by Aquila and Priscilla who had been exiled from Rome under an edict of the Emperor Claudius (see Chap. XIII).

¹ D. Plooiij, Ibid., p. 156.

Appearance Before Gallio - Summer or Autumn of A.D. 51

Luke informs us that Paul remained in Corinth for a year and six months (ἑκὰθ' ἴσεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ - Acts 18:11) at the end of which time the Jews brought him before Gallio. On the evidence of the inscription found at Delphi we concluded that Paul appeared before Gallio in the summer of A.D. 51. His arrival in Corinth will admit to being dated eighteen months earlier, i.e., in the midwinter of A.D. 49/50. After this he remained in Corinth "many days" (ἡμέρας ἱκανάς) or as the NEB renders it "some time". This expression cannot mean more than two or three months.¹ From there Paul went to Ephesus where he did not remain long (Acts 18:21)² and then sailed on to Caesarea and went up and greeted the church at Jerusalem. He then went down to Antioch (Acts 18:22). This brings the Second Missionary Journey to an end--sometime in the early autumn of A.D. 51.

¹ K. Wieseler, Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, p. 46.

² The "Western" text has the addition, "because he was anxious to be in Jerusalem for the feast" (δὲ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα). To which feast is Luke referring in this variant reading? (A) Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, p. 264, assumes that it was the feast of the Passover. (B) Wieseler, Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, p. 48ff., and Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, p. 422, identified the feast with Pentecost. (C) Plooi, De Chronologie van het Leven van Paulus, p. 160, thought that Paul was referring to the feast of Tabernacles. Plooi gives two arguments in support of this identification: (i) the only feast which is commonly preceded by the definite article is Tabernacles and (ii) the season for navigation would hardly be open in time for Paul to reach Jerusalem in time for Passover. We have concluded above that Paul must have arrived in Palestine in the early autumn. The only feast which is celebrated at this season is Tabernacles which is held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month = Tishri (Sept/Oct) and continues for seven days. (Lev. 23:34; I Kings 8:2). As Plooi says Tabernacles was probably often referred to as "the feast" (see Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, I, p. 407, note a). Parker and Dubberstein indicate that in the year A.D. 51 this feast fell on Oct. 10th (see their tables, p. 47), i.e. Tishri I fell on Sept. 26 and Tabernacles was celebrated 15 days later.

CHAPTER XXV

THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Synopsis

Map - Paul's Ministry - Acts 18:23 - 21:16
(A.D. 52, Spring - A.D. 57, Spring)
Acts 18:23 - 21:16
Date of Departure - Spring of 52
Two chronological notices: Acts 19:8, 19:10
Time spent at Ephesus - 3 years
Departure from Ephesus - Spring of 56
Arrival in Corinth in Autumn 56. Spent winter of 56-57 here.
Arrival in Philippi in time to celebrate the Passover
(Acts 20:6)
Ramsay's theory for a fixed date.
Paul arrived in Jerusalem for Pentecost, May/June, A.D. 57.
The two year imprisonment of Acts 24:27.
Note: Knox's view of the Missionary Journeys.



CHAPTER XXV

THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(ACTS 18:23 - 21:16)

Date of Departure--Spring of A.D. 52

The chronological notice in Acts 18:23--"after he had spent some time there"--(πολλῆςας χρόνον τινα) refers to Paul's stay at Syrian Antioch. We cannot tell how long Paul remained there but it "would allow wintering in Antioch and departure on the 'third missionary journey' in the spring of A.D. 52".¹ If he left Antioch in November of the same year (A.D. 51) then his stay can only have been a few days since we have already concluded that he was present in Jerusalem in the autumn and he would have had to leave Antioch before winter closed the passes over the Taurus mountains. It is not likely that Paul would begin a journey so late in the season. The whole question turns upon the identification of the feast mentioned in the variant reading in Acts 18:21. If it is a reference to Passover or Pentecost then Paul must have arrived from the second journey in the spring of A.D. 52. This chronology throws the beginning of the Third Missionary Journey forward to the summer of A.D. 52. On the other hand, if the feast in question is the Feast of Tabernacles, as we have already concluded (p. 317, f.n.21) then it follows that he probably spent the winter of A.D. 51/52 in Syrian Antioch and departed on

¹ Finegan, op. cit., p. 321. Wikenhauser dates the beginning of the third missionary journey in A.D. 54, op. cit., p. 358.

the Third Missionary Journey in the spring of A.D. 52.

Two Chronological Notices--Acts 19:8; 19:10. Time spent at Ephesus--
3 years.

Leaving Antioch therefore in the spring of A.D. 52, Paul "went from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia" (διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν -- Acts 18:23). This activity would probably occupy the spring and summer of A.D. 52 so that Paul would arrive in Ephesus in the autumn of A.D. 52 or spring of A.D. 53.¹ Two chronological notices enable us to determine the length of Paul's stay at Ephesus: "three months" (μῆνας τρεῖς -- Acts 19:8) disputing in the synagogue and "two years" (τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο, Acts 19:10) disputing in the lecture-hall of Tyrannus. But are these two notices to be reckoned inclusively or exclusively? A further chronological notice in Acts 20:31 (τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμεν) indicates that they are to be counted together according to the Jewish method (see Chaps. V and VIII) and that Paul spent "three years" (a round figure) at Ephesus. During this time Paul received disturbing news from the Church at Corinth and he paid a "flying visit" to them. Although we have no direct record of this visit, it is implied in II Corinthians 12:14 where he writes, "the third time I am ready to come to you". In II Corinthians 13: 1, 2 he says again that he is coming to them a third time. If there was a third time there must have been a second. The only record we have is of one visit in Acts 18: 1-17. Since Corinth was only a few days' sailing from Ephesus we may

¹ Some scholars would regard this as too long an estimate for the time needed to "strengthen all the disciples" in Galatia and Phrygia, others would consider it too short. See previous estimates for travel through the same region on pp. 306 and 314.

assume that Paul paid a flying visit (see Map). This brings us to the spring of A.D. 56. Rackham¹ made the suggestion that the disturbances which resulted in Paul leaving the city were connected with the Artemisia which were held in March or April. If this is true then it buttresses our chronological scheme. Plooiij has pointed out that there is no evidence in the Acts to support this assumption.² Some scholars, notably G. S. Duncan, argue from the evidence of I Cor. 32; II Cor. 11:23ff.; Rom. 16:4, 7 that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus (see Chap. XXII).

Departure from Ephesus--Spring of 56

We conclude that Paul left Ephesus after the riot led by Demetrius³ in the spring of A.D. 56 (I Cor. 5:8; 16:5-8). Cf. I Cor. 16:7 οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν Paul's intention was to visit Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem and Rome (Acts 19:21). At Troas he expected Titus to meet him (II Cor. 2:13) but when he did not Paul sailed on to Macedonia. Here he met Titus (II Cor. 7:6). Is it from here that Paul went on to Illyricum? (Rom. 15:19, Titus 3:12).⁴ It is more likely that Paul went to Illyricum from Thessalonica via Pella, that is by the Egnatian Way (see Map). We know that he passed through Macedonia exhorting the churches of Philippi, Thessalonica and Beroea. By our count this

¹ R. B. Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles, (Westminster Commentary), 5th edition, London: Methuen & Co., 1910, p. 363f. See also G. S. Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, p. 140.

² D. Plooiij, op. cit., p. 161.

³ Demetrius has been identified with a shrine maker (νεόποιος) mentioned in an inscription (Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, 3:578), as cited by G. W. H. Lampe, Peake's Commentary on the Bible, (1962), p. 917.

⁴ P. N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, Appendix IV.

would bring us to the autumn of A.D. 56.

Arrival in Corinth--Autumn of A.D. 56. Spent winter of A.D. 55/56 here.

He presumably therefore arrived in Corinth in the autumn of A.D. 56 and stayed there for three months (Acts 20:3). The winter therefore of A.D. 56/57 was spent in Greece. It is "overwhelmingly probable"¹ that Romans was written during this period, either at Corinth or Cenchreae. Paul's plan was apparently to sail to Palestine as soon as the navigation season opened in the spring. But his plans were thwarted by a Jewish plot and he went overland through Macedonia (Acts 20:2) to Philippi (Acts 20:3, 6).²

Arrival in Philippi for Passover

Paul arrived at Philippi in time to celebrate the Passover (Acts 20:6). According to the Tables of Parker and Dubberstein (p. 201) Passover was celebrated on April 8th in A.D. 57. Ramsay³ held that this reference provided a fixed date in Paul's chronology (see p. 195ff.). This argument is based on an assumption, viz., (i) that the last of the seven days which Paul spent at Philippi was a Monday, (ii) that Paul left immediately following the Days of Unleavened Bread, (iii) that the year 57 was the only one in any of the years about that time in which the 1st of

¹ C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Black's New Testament Commentaries), Adam & Charles Black, 1957, p. 3.

² Cf. E. Haenchen, op. cit., pp. 515 and 517. The movements of Paul and his companions is not at all clear. Did some of the party go by ship to Philippi? Did only Paul and a companion remain there?

³ W. M. Ramsay, "A Fixed Date in the life of St. Paul", Expositor, (5th Series), III, (1896), pp. 336-345.

Nisan fell on a Thursday. At the same time that we are careful to point out that Ramsay's theory is based on an assumption (three assumptions to be exact!) we may adopt it to reconstruct Paul's chronology day by day from Philippi to Jerusalem (see Chap. XVI). Ramsay assumed that Paul left Philippi on Friday, April 15th and reached Troas after "five days",¹ i.e. on Tuesday, April 19th. He stayed here "seven days", i.e. he left on Monday, April 25th. The journey to Miletus took three days, i.e. on or about Thursday, April 28th. Paul purposely avoided Ephesus because he was anxious to be in Jerusalem before Pentecost (Acts 20:16). At Miletus he sent word to the Ephesian elders to meet him. This meeting of the "Kirk Session" could not have taken place at the earliest before Saturday, allowing time for the message to reach Ephesus and the elders to make the journey. Paul therefore did not continue his voyage until Monday, May 1st, or possibly Tuesday, May 2nd. The voyage to Patara took at the most two days which would bring us to Wednesday evening, May 3rd, at the earliest. At this point Paul changed ships and sailed past Cyprus and landed at Tyre about five days later, on Monday, May 8th. He remained there for seven days (Acts 21:4). Paul left for Ptolemais on May 14th and remained there one day (Acts 21:7). The next day Paul came to Caesarea, i.e. May 15th. Paul remained at the home of Philip the Evangelist "many days" (ἡμέρας πλείους) which implies that he had time in hand before the Feast of Pentecost. The Western Text says that he stopped once more on his way to Jerusalem when Mnason, a cypriot Jew who was a

¹ Flooiij says that this "five days" (ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε) means as Ramsay says that the voyage lasted unusually long, op. cit., p. 83, f.n. 3.

Christian from the early days, conducted him to a certain village (Acts 21:16). The day after his arrival in Jerusalem, Paul went to see James and all the elders of the Church. After the Feast of Pentecost, (May/June of A.D. 57), probably on the last of the seven days of purification, he was arrested (Acts 21:26, 27). The next day Paul was brought before the Sanhedrin and during the following day his nephew disclosed to Lysias, the chief captain, a plot against Paul's life. When Lysias heard about the plot he had Paul escorted under guard by night to Caesarea.¹ Five days later Ananias, the high priest, and other accusers arrived and Paul was arraigned before Felix (Acts 24:1f.). Felix adjourned the case until the arrival of Lysias the tribune (Acts 24:22). According to our count Paul appeared before Felix in the spring of A.D. 57 (see p. 210).

The Two-Year Imprisonment of Acts 24:27

Paul was kept in custody but with some liberty and access to his friends (Acts 24:23) for two years (Acts 24:27) because Felix hoped that Paul would bribe him (Acts 24:26). "A hope," writes W. D. Davies, "quite in character with what Roman historians write about Felix."² E. Haenchen, as has previously been noted (Chap. XVII) believes that the "two years" refer to Felix's time in office and not Paul's time in prison. In our opinion this is the weakest point in Haenchen's chronological scheme and we must reject it since it contradicts the evidence concerning Paul's activities prior to this date and cannot be made to harmonize with other

¹ According to Haenchen the account of Paul's arrest and the events that follow is full of improbabilities. See E. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 567ff.

² W. D. Davies, "The Apostolic Age and the Life of Paul", Peake's Commentary, (1962), p. 876.

previously established chronological points (see discussion in Chap. XVII). He was replaced as governor by Porcius Festus in A.D. 59.¹ Festus lost no time in hearing Paul's case. "Three days" (two days) after his arrival in Caesarea he went up to Jerusalem and "ten days" later he returned to Caesarea. On the following day Paul was brought before him (Acts 25:6). Festus granted Paul's appeal to Caesar. "After certain days" (ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τινῶν) Agrippa and Bernice came to Caesarea and also heard Paul's defence (Acts 25:13f.).

NOTE

Knox's View of the Missionary Journeys

John Knox says of Paul's missionary journeys: "It seems certain that the visualisation of Paul's life as an apostle in terms of three great missionary tours represents a later way of seeing and interpreting a career which originally did not appear so at all. If you had stopped Paul on the streets of Ephesus and said to him, 'Paul, which of your missionary journeys are you on now?' he would have looked at you blankly without the remotest idea of what was in your mind."² This conclusion follows from Knox's principle of criticism which asserts that in any reconstruction of Paul's career the Epistles alone must be used as the primary source. In reply to Knox's statement "...that the letters of Paul reveal not the slightest awareness on his part that he is engaged in great journeys"³ it may be said, why should they? Paul was not writing his

¹ See p. 210, f.n. 1.

² J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 41f.

³ Ibid., p. 40.

memoirs. He was writing pastoral letters in response to situations which had arisen within the churches he had founded. Moreover, he could hardly have been expected to view his missionary journeys in retrospect, especially since some of them, at the time in which he wrote his letters, had not yet taken place.

The most interesting part of Knox's criticism is his observation that the reader of Acts gets the impression that Paul is based at Jerusalem from which centre he goes out on his missionary journeys, whereas Paul's letters give us the opposite impression, namely, that Paul is based in his operational field from which he sets out to visit Antioch and Jerusalem. This difference in orientation Knox attributes to Luke's purpose in writing Acts, i.e., to emphasize the role played by Jerusalem in the story of the beginnings of the Church (see Chapter IV).

We see no reason to disbelieve that Paul made three missionary journeys even if the Acts and Epistles do give a different orientation to these journeys. Luke and Paul were writing with different purposes in mind. Paul was deliberately trying to demonstrate his independence of the Apostles at Jerusalem while Luke was emphasizing Jerusalem's importance in the early church. But surely we may recognize this difference without assuming, as Knox does, that Luke's orientation is total fiction.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE JOURNEY TO ROME

Synopsis

(p. 365)

Map¹ - Acts 27:1 - 28:16 (A.D. 59, Sept. - A.D. 60, Jan/Feb.)

The "two years" of Acts 24:27.

The chronological notice in Acts 27:9.

(A) Workman's calculations (Table 16).

(B) Plooijs's reckoning.

Conclusion: Paul arrived in Rome in Jan/Feb., A.D. 60.

The chronological notice of Acts 28:30.

Conclusion: The year A.D. 62 is the terminus ad quem for Paul's chronology.

Table 17. Harmony of Pauline Chronology.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE JOURNEY TO ROME

(ACTS 27:1 - 28:16)

The "Two Years" of Acts 24:27. The Chronological Notice in Acts 27:9.

Following his arrival at Jerusalem in May of A.D. 57 Paul was arrested and held in protective custody for two years (διετίξας δὲ πληρωθείσης - Acts 24:27). It is not possible to determine how much time elapsed between the arrival of Festus in A.D. 59 and Paul's defence before Agrippa. But it would seem reasonable to allow an interval of at least one month between these two events. Thus by our count Paul began the voyage to Rome in the autumn of A.D. 59. The "Western" text informs us that the first stage of the voyage from Caesarea to Myra took fourteen days (δι' ἡμερῶν δεκάπεντε).¹ At this point they were detained by contrary winds. Here the centurion in charge found another ship and they came to the Fair Havens in Crete (Acts 27:8). "...sailing was now dangerous because the fast (τὴν Νηστείαν) was now already past...." (Acts 27:9). Josephus apparently uses the same Greek word for the Day of Atonement.² (A) The great fast of the Jewish religious year

¹ The course of the voyage has long been recognized as a difficulty by expositors. It has been suggested that what we have here is really the account of two voyages which Luke has conflated. See L. Davies, St. Paul's Voyage to Rome (A Critical Inquiry), London: Headley Brothers, 1931.

² Josephus, Antiquities, XIV. xvi. 4.

was the Day of Atonement (יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים, yom ha-kippurim) which was kept in the autumn on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev. 23:27). W. P. Workman¹ thought that this chronological notice provided a fixed point in Paul's chronology. The seventh month is Tishri (see Table 1). He calculated on the basis of Lewin's data for the tenth of Tishri for the years A.D. 53-62 and arrived at the following table:

TABLE 16

WORKMAN'S CALCULATIONS FOR THE FAST (Acts 27:9)

YEAR	DATE
A.D. 55	September 19
A.D. 56	September 8
	October 7
A.D. 57	September 27
A.D. 58	September 16
A.D. 59	October 5
A.D. 60	September 24
A.D. 61	September 12
A.D. 62	October 1

According to Workman, in A.D. 59 the tenth of Tishri fell on October 5 and the fast was now already past (Acts 27:9). (B) Flooiij, however, considers these data (i.e. in Acts 27:9) much too vague for an exact calculation: "Om hieraan echter chronologische berekeningen te verbinden, is het

¹ W. P. Workman, "A New Date Indication in Acts", Expository Times, XI, (1899-1900), pp. 316-319.

gegeven veel te vaag en te zwak."¹ He adopts the statement of Vegetius² that navigation was risky after September 14 and perilous after November 11. Flooiij concludes that the 14th of September has now passed. After a terrible storm which lasted for fourteen days (τεσσαρεςκαιδεκατη νύξ, "fourteenth night", Acts 27:27) the ship was wrecked on Melita (Malta)(see Map).³ If Workman and Flooiij had been able to consult the Tables compiled by Parker and Dubberstein they would have seen that Tishri 1 fell on September 28 in A.D. 59.⁴ The Day of Atonement was observed on the tenth day of Tishri which fell on October 7 in A.D. 59. If our estimation of the year is correct then this is an exact date in Paul's chronology. Luke informs us that "sailing was now dangerous because the fast (i.e. the Day of Atonement) was now already past" (Acts 27:9).
Date of Arrival at Rome. Chronological Notice--Acts 28:30.

Acts 28:11 says that they spent "three months" (μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας) in Malta. If they were shipwrecked before the end of October they would probably sail from Malta sometime in January of A.D. 60. Luke

¹ D. Flooiij, De Chronologie van het leven van Paulus, p. 88.

² Vegetius, De Re Militari IV. 39. For the rather long Latin quotation see Flooiij, Ibid., p. 87, f.n. 2.

³ For a detailed account of the voyage and shipwreck see J. Smith, Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, (1848, 4th edition 1888). He states that the distance from Cauda to Koura Head (on Malta) is 476.6 miles which at the Smith reckoning, on the advice of experienced navigators, would take thirteen days, one hour and twenty-one minutes. Ibid., p. 126ff. The author of Acts was accurate with his "fourteenth night" (Acts 27:27). The shipwreck probably occurred between the 20th-25th of October.

⁴ R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75, p. 47.

records that the ship was the Castor and Pollux of Alexandria.¹ Paul landed at Syracuse and remained there three days (Acts 28:12). The journey from Rhegium to Puteoli (modern Pozzvoli) took approximately two days (Acts 28:13). Paul remained at Puteoli for seven days (Acts 28:14). We conclude, therefore, that Paul arrived in Rome some time in January or February of A.D. 60.² Luke tells us that he remained a prisoner under house arrest (libera custodia) in Rome for "two whole years" (διετίαν ὅλην) which by our count would bring us to the year A.D. 62 and the terminus ad quem for the chronology of St. Paul. At this point we exhaust the chronological data for Paul's life in the New Testament.

Whether Paul was acquitted and released from custody at Rome around A.D. 62 is uncertain.³ The confident tone with which Luke closes his narrative in Acts suggests he may have been, though this must be related primarily to the "purpose" which the writer has in view throughout.

¹ Pliny in his Natural History ii. 122 says the navigation season opened around Feb. 8th. Vegetius, De Re Militari IV. 39, states that the seas are closed until March 10th. A very interesting suggestion is made by E. G. Kraeling who says: "The ship had the 'Twin brothers' or 'Heavenly Twins' (Dioscuri) as figurehead or emblem. They were Castor and Pollux whose constellations in the heavens served to guide navigators, and who were considered saviors at sea. It may be that their heads were painted on either side of the prow. But this does not need to mean that the ship was named for them. Greek ship names were commonly feminine. A festival was celebrated for the Dioscuri at Ostia on January 27, which might have been an especially appropriate day for the departure of the ship." I Have Kept the Faith, p. 248ff.

² E. Haenchen's view that Paul arrived in Rome early in A.D. 56 is based on his early dating of Felix's term of office (see Chap. XVII) which we have rejected.

³ Roman Catholic commentators generally take the view that Paul was released. See A. Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction, pp. 359ff., 452 and T. Corbishley, "The Chronology of New Testament Times", A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, p. 848.

The note of triumph in Phil. 2:23, 24 also supports this viewpoint. On the other hand, II Tim. 4:6 is a last testament of a dying man and Paul's prophecy to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20:25) is filled with forebodings. If he was given his freedom then did he go to Spain as he intended? (Rom. 15:24, 28). References in I Clement 5 and the Muratorian Fragment suggest that he may have done so.¹ We simply do not know and these speculative questions, fascinating as they may be, are outside the bounds of a careful chronological investigation. The tradition that Paul was honourably executed by the sword as befitted a Roman citizen is probably true. His death presumably took place during the persecution under Nero in the summer of A.D. 64² and the traditional site of his martyrdom on the road from Rome to Ostia is marked today by the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mure (St. Paul outside the Walls) but as G. G. Finlay has said "the universal church is his monument".³

¹ Writing c. A.D. 95 Clement of Rome says in his Epistle to the Corinthians, v. 7 that Paul "taught righteousness to the whole world, having travelled to the limits of the west" (δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δόσεως). The Muratorian Canon (lines 38-39) originating in Rome c. A.D. 200 (or before 200) reads that Paul "from the city (of Rome) proceeded to Spain" (profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis). The Apocryphal Acts of Peter (I & III) also refer to a visit to Spain.

² Tacitus, Annals. XV. 44.

³ G. G. Findlay, "Paul the Apostle", Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, III, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911, p. 715.

SUMMARY

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

At the outset we stated that this thesis was an attempt to present the theory of Professor John Knox to see if it could be supported by a careful examination of Pauline chronology. Knox's thesis, which rejects the conventional chronology based on harmonising Paul's intervals with Luke's incidents, has been shown to be untenable. One by one his claims have been examined in the course of this work. His chief contention that Luke's account of Paul's career is vastly different from that of Paul's own statement cannot be supported. The most surprising result of this study is the remarkable harmony which is found to exist between our two sources. To paraphrase John Knox and at the same time to contradict him, "not only do our two sources hang together but they hang together remarkably well". Far from being filled with egregious contradictions, as Knox claims, the two accounts show a remarkable similarity. In not one instance does the Acts account contradict that of Paul's own statements. Paul and Luke were writing at different periods and with totally different aims but their writings, as shown by this thesis, are a further proof of the remarkable unity of the New Testament documents as a whole.

Knox's claim that the speeches in Acts were largely the fabrication of Luke's vivid imagination cannot be supported. What these speeches contain is a constantly recurring pattern of kerygmatic material. The claim that Luke had fuller control of his material in Acts than he had in

writing his gospel cannot be denied, but an examination of Luke's sources for Acts clearly demonstrated that he had the best possible material for his account of Paul's career and that he used it carefully though not always in strict chronological order. The fact, as noted by Knox, that the Acts account is oriented around Jerusalem and Antioch while that of the Epistles gives the impression that Paul is based in his operational field, is really not a contradiction as Knox contends. This is simply viewing Paul's life from two different points of view. Knox's contention that the Acts account which pictures Paul as returning to Jerusalem following his conversion (Acts 9 and 22) is a flat contradiction of Paul's own statements (Gal. 1) can be explained. In order to reconstruct the chronology of this period we must conflate the two accounts. When we do this the following chronology emerges.

- (1) Saul is converted on the way to Damascus.
- (2) He preaches in Damascus.
- (3) He goes into Arabia (Gal. 1:17).
- (4) He returns and preaches in Damascus for a period of three years. The three years are probably calculated from his conversion. (Gal. 1:18)
- (5) He goes up to Jerusalem.
- (6) He escapes from Jerusalem to Caesarea.
- (7) He returns to the regions of Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21).

There is no real contradiction in these two accounts of Paul's activities following his conversion; they are simply told from two different points of view.

The new chronology proposed by John Knox cannot be maintained under careful scrutiny as we have attempted to show. The one fixed date in Paul's career is Gallio's entry in office on July 1st A.D. 51. This upsets Knox's proposed chronology, as he himself is well aware, and his attempt to get out of the difficulty by suggesting that Luke was mistaken in having Paul appear before Gallio, is unconvincing.

As we stated at the beginning Knox's theory is an exciting new approach to Pauline chronology and as such has provided a needed stimulus for a fresh investigation of a subject which has long been neglected. We welcome this result even though we dissent from Knox's conclusions. Unless we are prepared to dismiss Luke as a careless author (which we do not believe him to be) then we must use the Acts in any reconstruction of Paul's life. It is submitted that the attempt to do this in the present thesis achieves a harmonious result.

The claim that the Crucifixion took place in A.D. 33 rather than in A.D. 29 or 30, the usually accepted dates, will undoubtedly prove to be the most contentious claim of this thesis. It is admittedly much easier to reconstruct Paul's career if we can place the terminus a quo in A.D. 29 or 30. But we have striven not to make a neat chronology based on the conventional scheme. In this point at least John Knox will agree with us. Our aim has been to present the facts as objectively as possible irrespective of whether it suited our preconceived dates. In fact the date which we have arrived at for the Crucifixion does not suit us at all but it is we believe the only date which fits the facts.

Thus the Chronology of St. Paul outlined in this thesis makes full use of both our sources--the Epistles and the Acts. The result of

this investigation is that the main outlines of Paul's career, with certain exceptions which have been noted, is in far closer harmony than John Knox would have us believe. His claim that only the Epistles should be used as a primary source in a reconstruction of Pauline chronology means that no satisfactory chronology can be written at all. It is in fact a claim which we regard as a recrudescence of the Old Tübingen School's theories.

TABLE 17

HARMONY OF PAULINE CHRONOLOGY

YEAR	CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES IN THE ACTS & EPISTLES	CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF PAUL'S JOURNEYS	CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EPISTLES
A.D. 34/35	Conversion		
37	First Visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18)	Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21)	
	Escape from Damascus (II Cor. 11:32 and Acts 9:25)		
44	Death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1-23)		
47	Second Visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1)		
	Famine Relief (Acts 11:20-30; 12:25 and Gal. 2:1-10)	<u>1st Missionary Journey</u> Galatia	Galatians
49		Council at Jerusalem	
49/50	Edict Banishing Jews from Rome and Arrival of Paul in Corinth (Acts 18:2)	<u>2nd Missionary Journey</u> Galatia Philippi Corinth	I Thessalonians II Thessalonians
51			

TABLE 17 (continued)

51	Paul's Appearance before Gallio (Acts 18:12)	Jerusalem for the Feast (i.e. Tabernacles--Oct. 10)	
52		<u>3rd Missionary Journey</u>	
		Galatia	II Corinthians 6:14 -
		Ephesus (Arrive)	7:1
55		Corinth (Flying Visit)	I Corinthians
		Ephesus (Leave)	II Corinthians 10-13
57		Corinth	Romans
		Philippi	II Corinthians 1-9
		(arr. Passover--Apr. 8)	
	Paul's Arrival in Jerusalem and Arrest (Acts 20:6)	Jerusalem	
		(Pentecost--May/June)	
	Paul's Appearance before Felix (Acts 24)	Caesarea (Imprisonment)	
59	Paul's Appearance before Festus (Acts 25)	Voyage to Rome	
		(Sept. A.D. 59--Mar. A.D. 60)	
60	Two whole years under house arrest (Acts 28:30)	Rome (Awaiting trial)	Philemon
			Philippians
			Colossians
A.D. 62			Ephesians (if Pauline)

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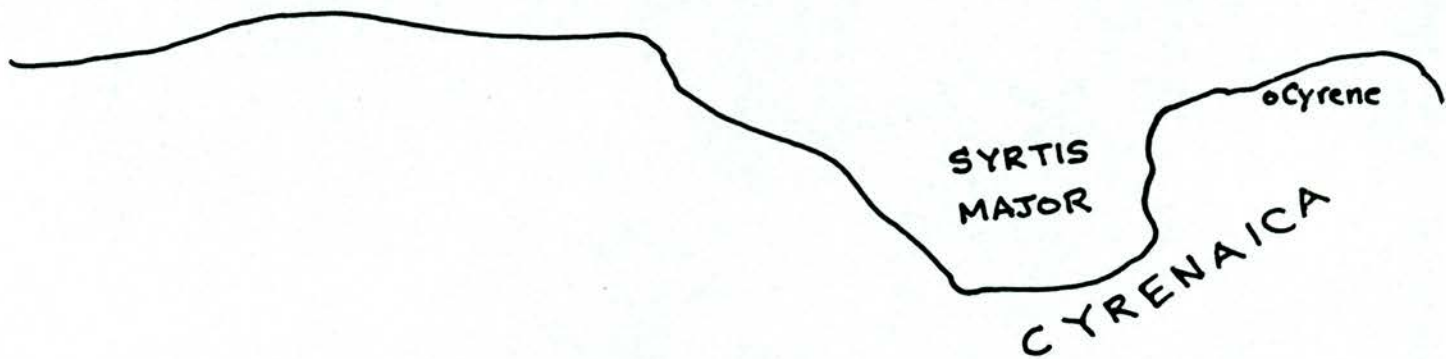
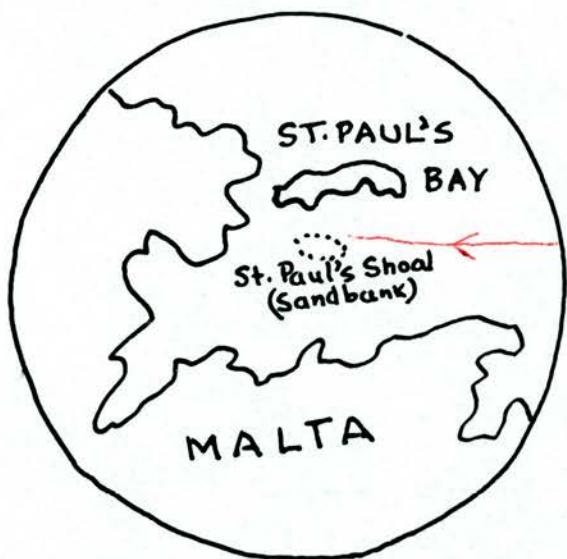
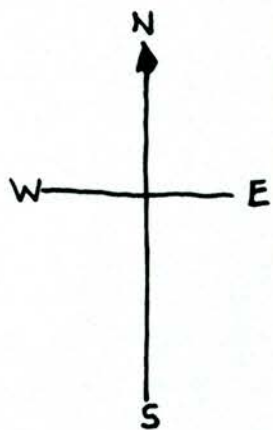
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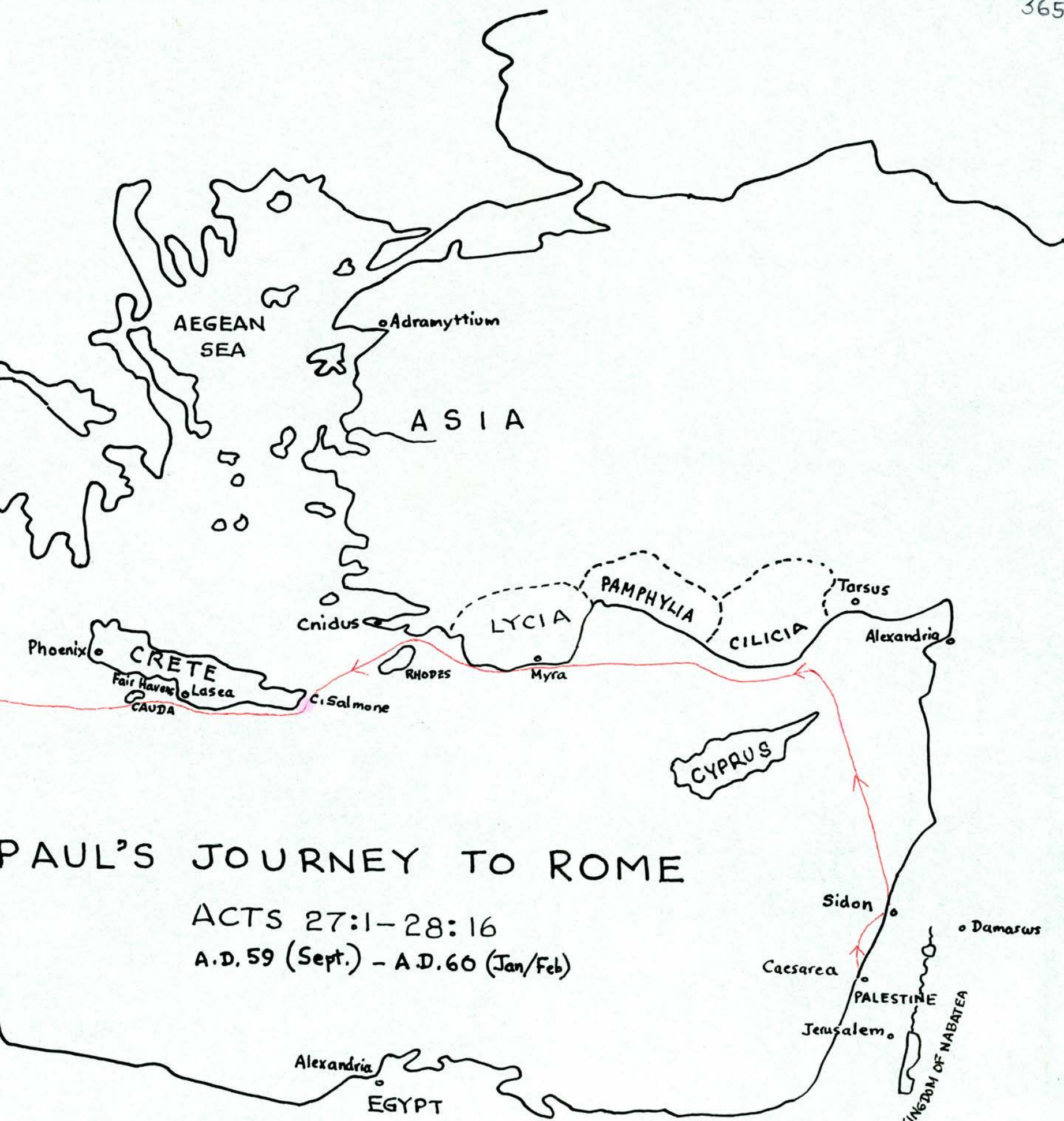
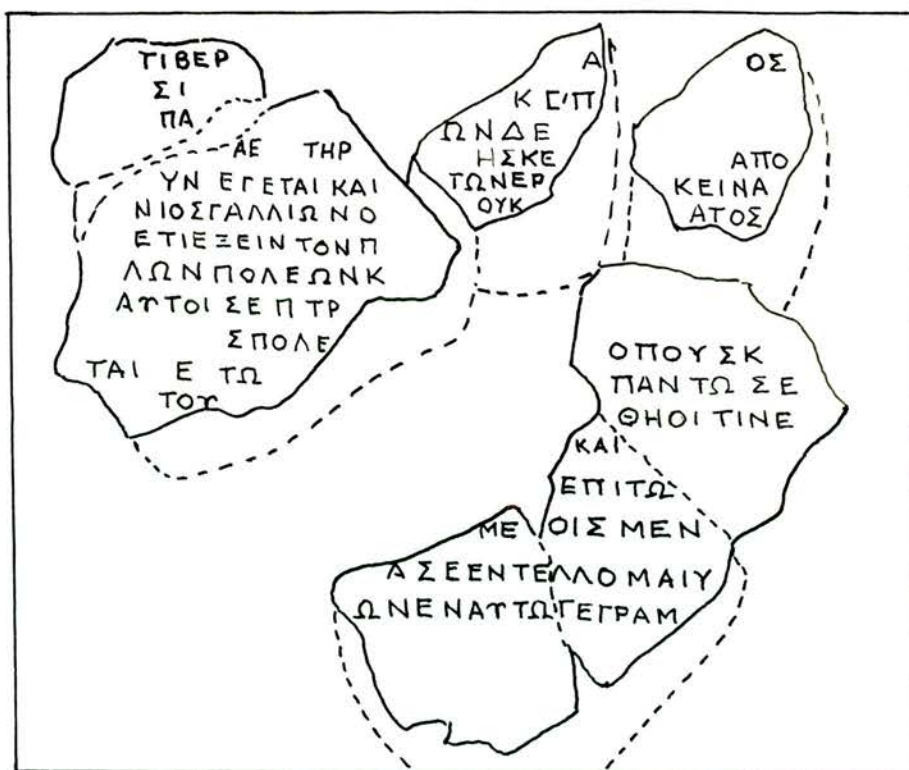




PLATE 1

GROUP A

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GROUP B

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	CHRONICON PASCHALE	PETAVIUS	BENGEL	SÜSKIND	WURM	ANGER	WIESELER	HOLTZMANN	CONYBEARE & HOWSON	WEISZÄCHER
CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS	31	31	30	32		31	30	30		30
CONVERSION OF PAUL	42	33	31	32	41	38?	40	31	36	35
FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM	43	36	33	35	43	41?	43	34	38	
SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM	46	41	41/44	46	45	45	45	48/49	45	
FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY		42	45	46	45	48	46		48	
APOSTOLIC COUNCIL		49	47	47	46	51	50		50	52
SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY									51	44
ARRIVAL AT CORINTH		50	48	48	49	52	52	50		
THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY		52	49	50	51	54	54	52	54	
ARREST AT JERUSALEM		53	53	53	58	58	58	56	58	59
ACCESSION OF FESTUS		56	55	55	60	60	60	58		61
ARRIVAL AT ROME									61	62
DEATH OF PAUL									68	64

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CHRONOLOGICAL

CHART

CLEMEN	TURNER	ZAHN	BARTLET	LIGHTFOOT	RAMSAY	HARNACK	HOENNICKE	GOGUEL	PRAT	BRASSAC	BELSER	WEBER	McGIFERT	DAESCHEL	WELLHAUSEN	WENDT	GILBERT	B. WEISS
30	29	30	29	(30)		29(30)	30(33)		29				30					
31	35	35	31-32	34	33	30	33(35)	29/30	34-36	36	35	31	35	31	31	34	32	35
34	38	38	34-35	37	35	33	36(38)	32	34-39	38/39	(38)	33/34	38	34			35	38
	46	44	46	45	45/46	(44)	45(46)	43/44 (Ac. 15)	44	44	(44)	46/47	44				44	44
43	47	50	47	48	47	45	49?	44	45	45	(45)	47	50-51	44			45-47	
48	49	52	49	51	49/50	47	50(52)	43/44	49-50	49	49	50	52	47	44	49	48	52
			49										52	48			49-51	52
50	50	52	52	52	51	48	52	50	50-52	50	50	50						
53	52	54	52	54	53	50	54	52	53-54	53	52	52	54				52-56	55
59	56	58	56	58	57	54	57(59)	57	57-58	58	57	55	58	58		59	56	59
61	58	60	60	60	59	56	59(61)	59	59-60	60	59	55						
			59										61	61	56	62	59	62
			61-62										66-67	67	58	64	65-68	

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			29		29-30			30	29-30	29	33	33
35	35	36	30/31	35	32	35-36	34-37	33	35	^{30 or} 33	34	34 ⁽³¹⁻³²⁾
38	38	39	32/33	37		38	37 or 40	35	46	33	37	37 ⁽³⁶⁾
			WINTER 45/46	47-48	46	48	51	46		46	45-47	44 ⁽⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷⁾
50-51		46	46	48-49		48-49	^{37 or} 40-51	47-48		47-48	46	
52	52	49	48	49	46	49	51	49	49	48-49	48	49
52-55	52	49	48	50		50		49-50		49-52	48	
			NEW YEAR 50	50	49			50		50	50	SPRING 50
55	55	53	52	53?				52-57		52-55	53	
58-59	59-60	57	57	57	55	56		57	PENTECOST 57	56	59	57
			59		55			59	SUMMER 59	56-58	61	
61-62	61	60	60	59				60	SPRING 60	58-59	62	60
	64	67								^{62 or} 64-68	64	67

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SELBY	HAENCHEN	KING	KEE & YOUNG	FINEGAN	TRICOT	WIKENHAUSER	KRAELING
		27	30-33?	30, 33	30		30
31-33	35	29	33-35?	33/34	31 or 32	c.34	32
34-36	37/38	32		35/36	35 or 36		34(35)
44-46		45		48/49	44		48
			47-48?	47-48	45-48	46-49	45-47
44-47	48			48/49	49	49	48
				49-51	50-52 or 53	50-53	49-52 (48-51)
50	49/50	50	50-51	49/50	52		51-52 (49-51)
52-56				52-55	53-57	54-58	53-57
55-58	PENTECOST 55	59	56	55	PENTECOST 57	PENTECOST 58	57
		61		57	59	60	59
57-60	56	62-64	60	58	SPRING 60	SPRING 61	60
62-68		64		64	67	67?	62? 67?

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